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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

The State and Sport Development in Alberta: Conflict, Corporatism and Change.

BY

Robert Pitter



A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT STUDIES

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 1993



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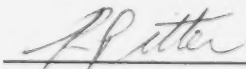
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Robert Pitter
10907 81 Avenue
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October 7, 1993.

Democracy

Democracy will not come
Today, this year
Nor ever
Through compromise and fear.

I have as much right
As the other fellow has
To stand
On my own two feet
And own the land.

I tire so of hearing people say,
Let things take their course.
Tomorrow is another day.
I do not need my freedom when I'm dead.
I cannot live on tomorrow's bread.

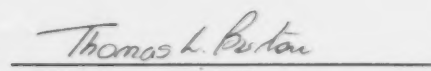
Freedom is a strong seed
Planted
In a great need.
I live here too.
I want freedom
Just as you.

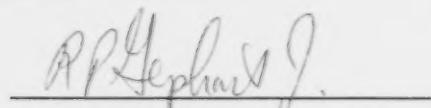
Langston Hughes

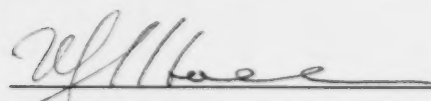
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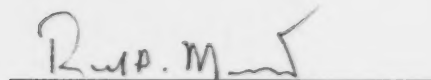
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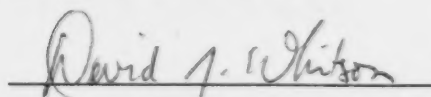

~~Dr. Trevor Slack (Supervisor)~~


for Dr. Rob Beamish


Dr. Robert P. Gephart


Dr. M. Ann Hall


Dr. Raymond Morrow


Dr. David Whitson

October 4, 1993

DEDICATION

To my mother Norma Elaine Pitter
and her belief in the value of higher education.

ABSTRACT

This case study examines the factors that led the Alberta government to create the Alberta Sport Council and discusses some of the council's impact on sport development in Alberta. The analysis of these factors draws primarily from Claus Offe's discussions of corporatism and welfare state development. The data used in this study were collected from interviews, government documents, annual reports, minutes, press releases, newspaper articles, committee reports, letters, government legislation and scholarly publications dealing with politics and/or sport development in Alberta.

The results of this study indicate that key individuals, organizational factors and Alberta's social and political characteristics influenced the events that led to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council. Individuals interested in promoting sport in Alberta sought to create an institution that would, with the assistance of the provincial government, foster the development of sport in Alberta. Beginning in 1967 the Alberta government, in which the Social Credit Party held a majority, sponsored numerous discussions that led to the creation of Sport Alberta in 1970. Sport Alberta was the first organization with the mandate of supporting the interests of sports groups throughout the province. During the 1970s the Progressive Conservatives were elected to government. This party implemented an approach to government that transformed the way in which sport interests were represented in Alberta. Interpersonal and intra-organizational conflict, the corporatist ideology of the Progressive Conservatives and a rapid downturn in the economic growth of Alberta combined together to foster the creation of the Alberta Sport Council.

Further observations made in this study indicate that the Alberta Sport Council's approach to sport development mirrors that of other governments which have directly intervened in sport development. This has occurred in three ways. First there has been a rapid growth in the bureaucratization and related professionalization of sport delivery, second there has been an increase in the emphasis on high-performance sport, and third there has been movement towards recommodifying sport delivery.

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I would like to thank my supervisory and examination committee. I am thankful for Dr. Trevor Slack's patience and for the effort he made to convince the student awards office that a nine-point-zero grade-point average at the master's level was worthy of a PhD. scholarship. Dr. Ann Hall's careful attention to detail and protocol contributed to the overall quality and coherence of this project. Dr. David Whitson provided endless hours of moral support during our many runs through the campus area as we discussed state theory and its relevance to my data. The many hours of employment I received as a research assistant to Dr. Bob Gephart not only provided necessary financial resources but also exposed me to both the potential and the pitfalls of microcomputer-assisted research methods. Dr. Ray Morrow's interest and passion for critical theory intensified my own interest and kindled my motivation to complete this project.

I would also like to thank the Sir Izaak Killam Scholarship Committee and the Alberta Sport Council for their financial assistance which enabled this research to be conducted.

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I would also like to acknowledge the contribution of my many friends in the Political Science Department at the University of Alberta. The informal discussions of politics in Alberta that took place in and around our Friday night ball hockey games and Tuesday evening baseball games introduced me to literature on Alberta politics that proved to be fundamental to the analysis presented in this project. In this regard I am particularly indebted to Dr. Donald Carmichael and Dr. Ian Urquhart.

Finally, I must also note that the greatest contributions came from the ongoing encouragement and assistance I received from my closest friends: Ellen, Laura, Steve and especially Andriel. Most of all I am grateful for the moral and financial support of my mother who has continued to provide more than she could be expected. It is my hope that I will some day be able to repay her.

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Chapter One

Trends, Issues and Themes in the Analysis of the State and Canadian Sport Development

Canada's sport system has grown tremendously since the turn of the century. The growth of sport has been so great that ever increasing numbers of Canadians confront sport, in one form or another, every day of their lives. Some people participate in sport directly, as they aspire to become professional athletes or world champions. Other individuals participate recreationally as a means to maintain or improve their health, for the fun of it and/or for other personal reasons. The greatest number of people participate indirectly either as spectators or as parents supporting aspiring athletes.

Even those who are indifferent towards sport must deal with the consequences of its growth. For example, in several Canadian cities formula-one car racing disrupts the lives of many people who have no interest in this sport. The courses upon which these events take place are built within city limits and pass through residential neighbourhoods. The cars that drive along these courses expose residents to undesirable levels of noise and air pollution. Other consequences of sport's growth include the increased traffic caused by major sports events and even riots¹ that spill out of stadiums into city streets. Less noticed and far more reaching in its effects is the public money spent on, and the public-sector debt incurred in, financing many of these stadiums and sports events. The extent of sport's magnitude is further epitomized by its dominant position in

¹ The problem of soccer hooliganism in Great Britain is an extreme example of this sort of event which has no direct equivalent in Canada. However, riots that have a direct relation to sporting events have been known to break out in Canadian cities. As recently as the spring of 1993, riots and looting occurred in downtown Montreal immediately following the game in which the Montreal Canadiens won the Stanley Cup.

the mass media. There is considerable talk about sport in the media, government and places of work and leisure.

Canada's sport delivery system has also been transformed significantly during this period of substantial growth. Richard Gruneau's book, *Class, Sports, and Social Development*, exemplifies research that provides a historical account of the ways in which the structures and meanings of Canadian sport have been transformed since the turn of the century. The most recent phase of transformation discussed by Gruneau (1983) is a phase in which:

the Canadian state, in conjunction with national and internationally established sporting associations, began to broaden its influence in sport to include national and subnational programs in recreation, physical fitness, and provincial, national and international athletics (p. 93).

This phase of transformation goes back to 1961 and the passage of Bill C-131 which led to the creation of Canada's first federal government department responsible for sport development. Since the creation of that department, the Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate, state intervention in sport development has increased rapidly, bringing about significant changes to Canadian sport.

One of the most important changes in the Canadian sport system has been generated by what Gruneau (1983) identifies as the government's shift away from sport development policies of social control and non-involvement towards policies that focus on "welfare oriented programs ostensibly designed to increase the quality of life in Canada and expand people's opportunities for the pursuit of athletic excellence" (p. 130). This state intervention has brought about the establishment of extensive sport bureaucracies at the federal and provincial levels. Sport policies are now implemented through government departments such as Sport Canada, the Alberta Department of Recreation and Parks² and the Ontario

² As this dissertation was being written the name of this department was changed to the Department of Community Development. The former name Alberta Recreation and Parks is used throughout this study because this was the proper name of this agency during the historical period discussed in this study.

Department of Tourism and Recreation. These government departments devote a significant amount of their attention and resources to the purposes of overseeing, facilitating, and, in many cases, directing sport development through national and provincial sport associations. According to Gruneau (1983), explanations of the developments that have led to this and other transformations "can only be speculated upon" due to the lack of research on sport and the state (p. 130). Harvey's paper, "Sport Policy and the Welfare State," represents one of the few efforts to address this lack of research. Harvey (1988), like Gruneau (1982), notes that additional empirical studies are still needed in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of sport and the state. Harvey (1988) states:

More studies on actors such as voluntary organizations or class-based groups in the development of the welfare state are needed. We also need an in-depth study of the actual interventions of the Canadian state. . . . Finally, any analysis of the Canadian case has to keep in mind that because of the constitutional division of powers the responsibility for the provision of welfare services falls primarily on the provinces and local governments. All interventions of the federal government must deal with this reality. It also means that for a **full** account of the Canadian welfare state one has to look at all levels of government and especially at the municipal and provincial levels (p. 328, emphasis in original).

To date, the response to the needs articulated by Harvey (1988) and Gruneau (1982) has been sparse, particularly with regard to studies of actors and groups, at the municipal and provincial levels of the Canadian state³. A review of the literature uncovered only one study, Harvey and Proulx's (1988) examination of Quebec, that has addressed any of these four areas. Harvey and Proulx (1988) reveal many similarities between provincial and federal intervention in sport development as well as a number of phenomena that are particular to Quebec. They also suggest that intervention in sport has been linked to welfare state policy and used as a means of promoting both Canadian and Quebec nationalism.

³ The historical importance of the provincial state power has been emphasized by Panitch who also indicates its importance has been growing.

The absence of theoretically informed research on other Canadian provinces has made it difficult if not impossible to compare sport initiatives across the country and to see if the characteristics and explanations of state involvement in sport put forward by Harvey and Proulx (1988) can be generalized to other Canadian provinces. It also leaves us with an incomplete picture of sport development and emphasizes the need for more studies of this type.

As a means of facilitating the development of a more complete picture of sport development in Canada, I have chosen to undertake a case study of the state's role in sport development at the provincial level. Of the nine provinces which have yet to be studied in depth, the province of Alberta represents one of the more interesting choices because its government boasts a unique approach to sport delivery. This unique approach to sport development is embodied in a provincial Crown corporation called the Alberta Sport Council. The Alberta Sport Council is the only Crown corporation in North America that has sport development as its mandate. Initiated in 1984 following the passage of *Bill 21, An Act to Establish The Alberta Sport Council*, this new organization has meant a significant change in sport development policy in Alberta. The Alberta Sport Council is unlike Sport Canada and government departments in other provinces, is a non-profit, publicly owned Crown corporation.

Notwithstanding the Alberta Sport Council's Crown corporation status, preliminary research revealed that other people have argued that the Alberta Sport Council is not unique at all (Pitter, 1984). They have suggested it was merely a unique means of camouflaging the Alberta government's *plot* to control the direction of sport development in Alberta. This preliminary research into this topic revealed a series of events that at first glance appeared to be an indication of just such a plot. In view of this preliminary finding and the call for more research into provincial government intervention into sport I felt that an analysis of the characteristics of this political strategy would make for an interesting case study. This study then came about as a result of the endeavour to investigate the possibility of such a conspiracy by addressing the following two questions:

1. Why did the Alberta government choose to create the Alberta Sport Council as a Crown corporation instead of using its internal departmental bureaucracy to oversee sport development in a manner similar to the federal and other provincial governments?
2. Has the impact of the Alberta Sport Council been significantly different from the impact of government institutions involved in sport development elsewhere in Canada?

The case analysis of the development of the Alberta Sport Council is presented in the six chapters that follow this introduction. Chapter Two contains a discussion of the theoretical basis of this inquiry. This discussion identifies the theoretical concepts that were used to guide data analysis and data collection by means of a concise review of related literature. This literature review considers writings that have attempted to theorize the state very broadly and within the context of Canada.

Chapter Three includes an overview and discussion of the research methods that were employed in this case study. Chapter Four provides a brief historical background to the study and a historical analysis of a seven-year-period that set the stage for the discussions that would ultimately lead to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council. Chapter Five examines the time period in which the Alberta government developed its first official sport policy. It was these discussions that led to the legislation which created the Alberta Sport Council. Chapter Six examines and assesses the impact of the Alberta Sport Council. This is accomplished through a discussion of some of the issues that were raised by people who were interviewed for this study. Chapter Seven draws the observations presented in the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters together and comments on their implications at the level of theory. This chapter also speculates regarding the future course of state intervention in sport development.

Chapter Two

Basis of the Inquiry

The best investigations of the state's role in sport development have been written carefully to situate their analyses within the context of coherent theory of the state⁴. It would be somewhat remiss to conduct an investigation into sport and the state without, at the very least, placing that analysis within the context of these other investigations. The characteristics of this context have changed over time in conjunction with the changing role of the state and changes in our theoretical understanding of the state.

This chapter summarizes some of the insights that have been provided by scholars who have examined the Canadian state's role in sport development. Attention is drawn to the key assumptions that underlie the insights that these researchers have identified. The work of these researchers indicates the value of combining the data collected about the Canadian sport system with theories of the state politics and organizational administration.

The State, Sports and Social Life

Sport has, like many other elements of social life, been touched in significant ways by the various institutions that comprise the state. This is especially true in Canada. Recent history has provided numerous examples of the growing impact that a variety of state institutions have had on sport. For example, consider the federal government. In the early 1970s the federal government began to introduce programs to supplement the income of top athletes in exchange for their commitment to aspire towards achieving international athletic excellence. In 1980 the federal government of Canada

⁴ This view is shared by Gruneau (1982) who has indicated that early investigations into the state and sport were deficient because they "failed to situate sport in the context of any coherent theory of the state" (p. 2).

prevented Canadian athletes from attending the Summer Olympic Games in an attempt to pressure the U.S.S.R. to withdraw troops from Afghanistan. The federal government has also introduced sport programs designed to manage relations within Canada. One such program is the Canada Games. Originally introduced to promote national unity, the Canada Games has matured to a point where it has become the focus of provincial flag-waving: an arena where many provinces aim to foster solidarity among their citizens and to demonstrate their superiority to other provinces⁵.

Soon after the Canada Games was introduced, state involvement in sport at the provincial level began to increase significantly. Like their federal counterpart, provincial governments have developed programs designed to fund athletes and sport development within their respective provincial borders. Many other aspects of provincial involvement in sport development mirror initiatives at the federal level. For example, several provincial governments sponsor their own provincial games. Most provinces have also centralized the headquarters of their provincial sport organizations at a single site analogous to the Canadian Sport and Fitness Administration Centre in Ottawa. Funding for the technical and executive directors who work at the provincial centres is provided by provincial governments in a manner comparable to the funding provided for national sport organizations by the federal government through its agent Sport Canada.

The above examples illustrate that the state and sport are two institutional spheres that have become entwined in Canadian society. They have become so connected that debates over the desirability of state intervention in sport development have become moot. A variety of literature has focused on the impact of increasing state intervention in sport. Some scholars have examined

⁵ The relative success that governments have enjoyed in this context is limited considering the fact that there are many Canadians who have never heard of the Canada Games. Nonetheless, for those Canadians who do participate, the emphasis on winning for the sake of enhancing their province's identity is a significant feature of their participation.

government involvement in sport from a historical and/or descriptive point of view (e.g. Broom & Baka, 1978; Franks & Macintosh, 1984; Macintosh, Bedeck & Franks, 1987). This group of scholars has provided chronological accounts of the events that highlight key features of provincial and federal government involvement in sport. Other scholars have attempted to go beyond historical description and put forward theoretical explanations that account for observed trends in the relationship between the state and sport by approaching their research from within the context of theories of the state (e.g. Kidd, 1981, 1982; Harvey, 1988; Harvey & Proulx, 1988; Macintosh & Whitson 1990). A concise examination of these theoretical explanations will illustrate the way in which theories of the state have contributed to understanding the Canadian state's involvement in sport.

Explaining State Intervention

The beginning of a significant interest in the area of the state and sport in Canada can be traced back to the year 1979. It was during October of that year that Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario hosted a conference dealing specifically with sport, culture and the modern state. Gruneau's paper, "Sport and the Debate on the State," opened the conference. In that paper he argued that current studies that examine the relationship between sport and politics have been deficient in the sense that they failed to "situate sport in the context of any coherent theory of the state" (Gruneau, 1982, p. 2). Since the Queen's conference there has been a steady trickle of research that has focused on explaining state intervention in sport in Canada.

The development of these explanations has followed a pattern that has been consistent with the development of state theory. Explanations of state intervention in Canadian sport have moved from studies inspired by the Marxist

state theory of the early 1970s towards those inspired by post-Marxist⁶ theories of the state that have gained popularity since the 1980s.

Kidd's (1981) discussion of the dilemma of government intervention in sport development represents one of the earliest endeavours to explain the Canadian state's role in sport development through the use of state theory. His explanation of federal government sport policy initiatives relies heavily upon Panitch's (1977) Marxist discussion of the role and nature of the Canadian state. Panitch (1977) argues that the Canadian state has three specific functions: capital accumulation, legitimation and social control. According to Kidd (1981), it is these functions that explain the federal government's choice of sport development initiatives. Kidd (1981) suggests that any model of sport development that fails to contribute to the Canadian state's functions of capital accumulation, legitimation and social control is likely to be ignored. To support this claim he provides numerous examples of initiatives that have facilitated capital accumulation at the expense of alternative approaches to sport development that provide long-term benefits for amateur sport.

Because Kidd (1981) situates his analysis within the context of a coherent theory of the state and sport, he is able to emphasize two important ideas. First of all, he links the accessibility of sport to the larger social context within which sport is practised, arguing that unequal access to sport "reflects general inequality in Canada" (Kidd, 1981, p. 244). Second, he indicates that the state has the capacity to address these inequalities by implementing programs that encourage progressive change. He notes, however, that this capacity is circumscribed by the present stage of capitalism in which states are facing crises of accumulation and legitimation.

Kidd's (1981) focus on the writings of Panitch (1977) is emulated by Harvey and Proulx's (1988) comparison of the federal and Quebec governments'

⁶ For a full discussion of this theoretical trend and its implications, see Pierson (1984).

sport policy. In agreement with Kidd (1981), Harvey and Proulx (1988) argue that the three functions of the Canadian state delineated by Panitch (1977) are important structural constraints that have influenced state intervention in sport. Harvey and Proulx (1988) extend the context of their analysis and move beyond the ideas put forward by Kidd (1981). They introduce the notion of the welfare state into their analysis and they compare the federal government's role in sport development with that of the Quebec government. Harvey and Proulx (1988) suggest there is a link between the development of the welfare state and the nature of federal and Quebec government intervention in sport: "In Canada, the initiatives of the state at the federal and provincial levels in the area of sport have been primarily linked to the development of policies of the so-called welfare state and to measures promoting nationalism (Harvey and Proulx, 1998, p. 95)." The bulk of Harvey and Proulx's (1988) discussion focuses on the ways in which the Quebec and federal governments have taken over control of sport and physical fitness in their bids to promote their own versions of nationalism. The significance of the development of the welfare state is left undeveloped apart from the authors' concern that the crisis of the welfare state might lead the state to retreat from intervening in sport while at the same time encouraging private enterprise to help fund sport.

The significant role that the development of the welfare state plays in the explanation of state intervention in sport is emphasized by Harvey (1988) in a later paper. Harvey's (1988) analysis of the development of the welfare state and its impact on state intervention in sport is influenced by a set of five theoretical assumptions he develops by considering ideas put forward by Clarke and Critcher (1985), Djao (1983) and Offe (1984). These five assumptions can be summarized as follows:

1. The welfare state is made up of a set of multi-functional institutions designed to manage the structures of socialization and the capitalist economy and as such exhibits contradictory tendencies due to the countervailing nature of socialization and the capitalist economy.

2. The welfare state is a historical phenomenon that develops according to periods delineated by crises of development.

3. The welfare state is continually shifting between commodified or decommodified production of value because each crisis of development it faces involves a redefinition of what part of social life should be commodified or recommodified.

4. The welfare state's actions regarding the form of state intervention with respect to commodification/decommodification are partially governed by pressures exerted on the state by organized groups or social movements and partially by the necessity of furthering capitalist development.

5. Welfare state measures are defined as citizen rights, which are to be guaranteed by the state.

With the aid of the analytical context provided by these assumptions, Harvey (1988) is able to link changes in the federal government's approach to the delivery of welfare state initiatives to changes in the form and content of sport policy. In accordance with the second assumption that the welfare state develops according to periods marked by development crises, Harvey (1988) divides the Canadian case into three periods: the emergence of the welfare state (1930-1940), the consolidation of the welfare state (1940-1975) and the present period of contestation (1975-1988). Harvey's (1988) discussion of each of these periods indicates that the form of state intervention in sport during each of these periods reflected the state's concern with fostering capitalist development and/or the state's desire to respond to pressure exerted by organized groups.

For example, Harvey (1988) suggests that the economic depression of the 1930s created a set of events that led to the creation of the Canadian welfare state. In 1935 the Canadian government implemented an unemployment insurance scheme in order to cope with the problems associated with high unemployment.

ment⁷. At that time the Canadian government's first interventions into sport also began to take shape. These interventions were primarily concerned with using sport and recreation as a means of training and conditioning Canadian youth in order to raise their physical and mental fitness and concomitantly raise their level of employability.

Welfare state services grew and became firmly entrenched in the time period between 1940 and 1975. Harvey (1988) shows how the Canadian government's concern for the social and economic consequences of the Second World War influenced the welfare policies that were introduced at the beginning of this period of consolidation:

State intervention in sport in this period was less characterized by the kind of labour related measures of the previous period. Indeed, a new image of health and fitness emerged. During the war years, state policy focused on the production of men fit for war and for the industrial war effort. After the war this objective was replaced by a preoccupation with the total fitness of the body (p. 323).

According to Harvey (1988), by 1960 the Canadian government was firmly committed to the welfare state logic of promoting social equality. This commitment influenced the scope and form of Bill C-131, *An Act to Encourage Fitness and Amateur Sport*. Harvey (1988) maintains that "given the hegemony of the social democratic role of the state to equalize opportunities, the bill had to give the image of equality of opportunity in order to gain legitimacy" (324). Initially, this image of promoting equality of opportunity was sustained through transfer payments to the provinces and study and research grants to universities. Later on during the 1970s and 1980s, welfare programs in the area of high-performance sport were initiated. These programs were aimed at providing financial assistance

⁷ Harvey (1988) indicates that this first unemployment insurance scheme was declared unconstitutional in 1936. However, in 1940 an unemployment insurance program was successfully implemented. This event marked the beginning of the period of the consolidation of the welfare state.

to athletes, increasing the participation and the status of women in all aspects of sport and assisting people with disabilities.

This period of consolidation of the welfare state and increasing government intervention in sport resulted in a significant decommodification of sport whereby the provision of sport-related services and opportunities was undertaken and determined by government rather than by market forces⁸. The consolidation of the welfare state and the decommodification of sport have, however, been interrupted by the consequences associated with the fiscal crises of the state. These crises have made it difficult for governments around the world to finance their welfare initiatives. Harvey (1988) notes that a resurgence of neo-conservative ideology has developed in conjunction with these difficulties. Proponents of this neo-conservative ideology question the state's ability to overcome social inequality through welfare programs and the appropriateness of this type of state intervention. The solution offered by neo-conservatives involves cutting back spending on social programs and government services—including sports programs—in order to encourage the growth of the private-sector economy.

Harvey (1988) suggests that the Canadian government has responded to this neo-conservative ideology by cutting its spending on sports programs devoted to the equalization of opportunity while simultaneously increasing its spending on elite sport. Neo-conservatism has also, says Harvey, promoted a re-commodification of sport and leisure services that were once provided directly or indirectly by the government. Harvey provides several examples of this movement including the state's recent programs that encourage national sports associations to find private sponsors for their sports.

Several ideas that inform Harvey's (1988) discussion are also cultivated in Macintosh and Whitson's (1990) analysis of the administration of national sport organizations. Macintosh and Whitson focus their analysis on the state's role in

⁸ For an in-depth discussion of commodification and decommodification see Offe (1984).

sport development during the time period that Harvey describes as the period of contestation. Guided by work on the contemporary contradictions of the welfare state Macintosh and Whitson (1990) argue that,

There are structural pressures that have moved many governments to redirect welfare or equity-oriented expenditures into programs that articulate more easily with the public relations goals of government and the corporate sector, as well as with the ideological premises of a market society and material pressures to expand the sphere of commodity production (p. 92).

In the area of federal sport policy this has meant that the federal government has shifted its support of sport towards "forms of sport that offer significant opportunities for the corporate sector" (Macintosh & Whitson, 1990, p. 103).

The evidence indicates that the development of the Canadian welfare state and its policies is continually being shaped and reshaped by a combination of forces related to the pressures exerted by the structure of Canadian capitalist society and the social/interest groups that comprise it. These pressures have revolved around the issue of defining the nature and purpose of state intervention in civil society and the issue of determining what is a public good and what is essential to human life⁹. As the state confronts these pressures people are becoming increasingly aware that the welfare state has its limitations with regard to its ability to provide more and improved social services without undermining economic growth or placing a significant strain on the public purse.

The analyses of the federal government's role in sport development presented by Harvey (1988) and by Macintosh and Whitson (1990) suggests that a *laissez-faire* strategy, promoted by the new right, has been largely responsible for current trends in the development of Canadian sport. This strategy is one of the three forms of strategic responses to the crisis of the welfare state that have been

⁹ Further discussion of these debates as they relate specifically to Canada can be found in Macintosh and Whitson (1990). More general discussions of the ways in which social rights have been contested can be found in Giddens (1982) and Macpherson (1985).

identified by Offe (1984). Keane summarizes Offe's description of this strategy in his introduction to Offe's *Contradictions of the Modern Welfare State* as follows:

Supported by sections of large capital and the traditional middle classes, the goal of this *laissez-faire* coalition is the recommodification of social life. It seeks to *decrease* the scope and importance of decommodified political and administrative power by resuscitating 'market forces'. Those forces that are unable to survive within the commodity form, it is argued, should also be allowed to fall victim to 'market pressures' and, at the same time, urged to 'modernize' by transforming themselves into marketable commodities (Offe, 1984, p. 26).

These insights into the state's role in sport development have, however, focused exclusively on the federal government. The extent to which these ideas can be extended to the provincial government is relatively unknown. Has the way in which provincial governments dealt with the limitations of the welfare state influenced provincial sport policy? Has provincial sport policy also moved towards supporting forms of sport that offer significant opportunities for the corporate sector in the same way as federal sport policy? If it were possible to assume that provincial governments faced the same structural pressures from capital and interest groups as faced by the federal government, one could expect sport policy at both levels to be identical. However, Canada's regional diversity in terms of economics and geography coupled with the high degree of autonomy possessed by provincial governments makes such an assumption untenable.

The unique character of each province has not made any of the provinces immune to the fiscal crises that confront welfare states throughout the world. Like their federal counterparts, provinces have had to manage these crises and respond to pressures from the political right and left. The diverse nature of the ten Canadian provinces makes it presumptuous to assert, without the appropriate empirical evidence, that provincial governments have applied the same strategies as the federal government in their efforts to deal with economic development and/or the fiscal crisis. Furthermore, one would expect to discover that the implementation of different strategies would produce different consequences for sport policy and subsequent sport development. Consequently, the study of the

province of Alberta that is pursued in this thesis attempts to identify the strategy or strategies for dealing with the fiscal crisis and economic development that have influenced the Alberta government's actions in the area of sport policy. A particular approach to dealing with the fiscal crisis and the contradictions of capitalism may, very likely, account for the development of the Alberta Sport Council and its distinctive characteristics.

Richards and Pratt (1979) have described the Alberta government's approach as corporatist. As Jessop (1990) notes, the most often cited definition of corporatism is the one contained in the work of Phillippe Schmitter:

Corporatism can be defined as a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of singular, compulsory, noncompetitive, hierarchical, ordered and functionally differentiated categories, recognized or licensed (if not created) by the state and granted deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demand supports. (Schmitter qtd. in Jessop, 1990, p. 111).

Corporatism is a second strategy that Offe (1984, 1985) suggests has been pursued by governments in order to deal with the problems of fiscal crisis and the contradictions of capitalism. Keane summarizes Offe's (1984) account of this strategy as follows:

Given the probable failure of strategies of *large-scale* recommodification, a greater reliance upon state-supervised, 'corporatist' forms of policy-making and administration cannot be excluded as a second, and possibly complementary, response to the present contradictions of the welfare state. This strategy of corporatism, Offe contends, is concerned with reviving the commodification process and alleviating the fiscal and planning problems of the welfare state. It seeks to exclude 'excessively political' demands and to institute state-supervised and informal modes of bargaining between representatives of key interest groups such as labour and capital. Corporatist policies are designed to develop a consensus among power elites in order to readjust welfare state policy making and administration to the requirements of the economic subsystem. Corporatist mechanisms rely upon arcane and highly inaccessible elite negotiations and increased political representation and surveillance, rather than autonomous public discussion and accountability (Offe, 1984, p. 27-28).

There has been some debate about the extent of corporatism in Canada. Panitch (1979) has been critical of scholars who have suggested that corporatist forms exist in Canada. Panitch maintains that although it is possible to argue that there has been an ideological basis for corporatism in Canada, "these ideological strains have not given rise to corporatist political forms" (Panitch, 1979, p. 51). "Only by the most simplistic of reasoning can it [the Canadian state] be considered as corporatist," writes Panitch (1979, p. 49). According to Panitch (1979) truly corporatist political forms have not been developed in Canada mainly because of the absence of strong centralized associations of business and labour. "The most popular ideology with affinities to corporatism was that of western Canadian wheat farmers' organizations and leaders in the second and third decades of this century as expressed in their doctrine of 'group government'" (Panitch, 1979, p. 53). However, once Albertans elected William Aberhart and the Social Credit party to power, corporatist ideology faded. Yet, in a more recent account of politics in Alberta, Richards and Pratt (1979) suggest corporatist strategy and ideology saw a resurgence after Peter Lougheed's Progressive Conservatives replaced the Social Credit as the governing party of Alberta. The result of this corporatist strategy was the establishment of a number of what Richards and Pratt term *quasi-corporatist* alliances between the Alberta government and a rising urban bourgeoisie.

There is a discrepancy between the viewpoint of Panitch (1979) and that of Richards and Pratt (1979). This may be due to the fact that Panitch's (1979) view and definition of corporatism is only one amid many that have been used by scholars (see Offe 1985). Recognizing this, Offe (1985) maintains that:

Corporatism is a concept that does not describe a situation but rather an 'axis' of development. In other words, political systems can be more or less corporatist, more or less advanced in the process of corporatization, depending upon the extent to which public status is attributed to organized interest groups. The process is relatively advanced when many interest groups have publicly attributed status in all or most of the relevant dimensions of institutionalization, and is relatively undeveloped where none

or only a few groups are institutionally defined in a few of the dimensions (p. 236-37).

The label, "quasi-corporatist," that Richards and Pratt (1979) use to describe the Alberta government's approach to managing its economy is consistent with Offe's (1985) contention that corporatism is best used to describe an axis of development. The very use of the prefix "quasi" implies that a less advanced form of corporatism exists in Alberta.

It should also be noted that the corporatism literature contains a debate over the groups that should be included in the corporatist framework. This debate is over the necessity of distinguishing interest-based organizations that are class-based (such as labour unions) from organized interest groups (such as a sport advocacy organization) representing other collectives that are specifically affected by state policies. Panitch's (1979) reluctance to recognize the existence of corporatism in Canada because of the absence of strong labour and capital-based collectives, places him on the side of the debate that insists only class-based organizations are relevant. Richards and Pratt's (1979) position is less restrictive and places them on the side of the debate which is open to including interests that are not class-based.

Offe (1985) maintains that neither point of view needs to be sacrificed when considering the phenomenon of corporatist developments. He writes:

The phenomenon of corporatist developments thus seems . . . to require a *dual or combined* explanation that exclusively relies neither on the social class nor the group paradigm. In such an explanation, the state would pursue quite different objectives when granting the right to functional representation to unions, on the one hand, and to any 'pluralist' interest group (e.g. doctors) on the other (Offe, 1985, p. 240).

Offe's (1985) arguments and the analysis of politics in Alberta provided by Richards and Pratt (1979) suggest that it is advisable to consider the role that corporatist ideology may have played in the Alberta government's approach to sport development.

Considered collectively, the above arguments comprise a framework for understanding the role that the Canadian state has played in sport development. The framework provided by theories of the welfare state suggests that it may be possible to explain the development of the Alberta Sport Council by drawing attention to the ideology and strategies employed by the Alberta government in response to the demands of capitalism during the time period in which the Alberta Sport Council was conceived and implemented. It is from within this context that this investigation is undertaken. It should, however, also be noted that within this context, the explanation of government intervention in sport "cannot be reduced to a description of 'system needs,' whether these refer to the needs of capitalism or the needs of sport" (Macintosh & Whitson p. 107). In addition to focusing attention on the structure of the social system this study also examines the role played by individual actors and the organizations of which they are a part.

Chapter Three

Research Methods and Procedures

A variety of research methods and procedures were considered for use in this investigation. Qualitative methods were judged to be the most compatible with the focus of this study due to its historical nature, its focus on chronological events, its focus on human experience and its emphasis on explanation. As Miles and Huberman (1984) note, qualitative data "are a source of well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes occurring in local contexts. With qualitative data one can preserve chronological flow, assess local causality, and derive fruitful explanations" (p. 15).

Focused interviews and document analysis were the two qualitative data gathering techniques most appropriate for this case study. Other techniques, such as those associated with participant observation, were inappropriate because of this study's historical nature. This chapter contains a summary discussion of the ways in which these techniques were implemented and a detailed description of the ways in which a microcomputer was used to assist with the analysis of the data.

Focused Interviews

A significant amount of the data upon which this study was based was collected through focused interviews with a variety of individuals. This section outlines the various steps that were involved in the collection of interview data. The steps involved in the actual analysis of the interviews are discussed later under the heading 'Analysis and Treatment of Data'.

Selection of the Interviewees

Several steps were involved in the identification and selection of interviewees. The first step entailed generating a list of potential interviewees. A

preliminary list of interview candidates was generated through a literature and document review and discussions with knowledgeable individuals. An extensive review of the literature on sport development in Alberta was conducted and a chronology of events was developed. This chronology listed the names of individuals who served in various leadership roles in several organizations or who had been associated with significant events. These organizations included, for example, Sport Alberta, the Alberta Sport Council, the Alberta Games Council, the government of Alberta and other relevant organizations. Significant events included, for example, sport conferences such as Operation Giant Stride and the annual Intersport conferences. A preliminary list of one hundred and seven key actors was compiled initially. This list excluded any key actors who were deceased.

This preliminary list was then shown to several of the people named on it. These individuals were people who were known to have had extensive involvement and influence within the sport community. Each of these people was asked to place a mark next to the names of any people they felt had played a significant role in sport development in Alberta since 1970. If they desired, they could indicate the significance and/or degree of each person's involvement as high, medium or low. They were also asked to add any names they felt were missing from the list.

The second step in the interview process involved determining a manageable number of interviewees. The number of interviews conducted had to be limited to an amount that was appropriate to the time available for the study and to the researcher's capacity to manage the volume of data generated by the interviews. After reviewing these limitations it was determined that between twenty-five and thirty interviewees would be a reasonable target for this investigation.

The results of the survey were used to compile a final list of thirty interview candidates. The thirty interview candidates were a collective representation of a number of groups involved in sport development in Alberta.

Ten of the interview candidates had been primarily involved with the Alberta Games Council and/or the Alberta Sport Council. Eight of the interview candidates had been primarily involved with Sport Alberta. Eight other interview candidates had been primarily involved with the provincial government (this included four ministers, two deputy ministers and two senior civil servants). Four interview candidates were involved with the sport community as administrators in provincial sport associations.

Interviewing began in April 1990 and continued through to the end of the fall of 1992. Over this time period the list of interview candidates was modified slightly because some of the individuals originally identified were found to be inaccessible since they had left Alberta and/or could not be contacted. A few other interview candidates declined to be involved. In a few instances these individuals were replaced with others whose names were mentioned repeatedly in the interviews already conducted. By the conclusion of the interviews twenty of the thirty people originally identified had been interviewed. Two additional people, who were identified while the study was in progress, brought the total number of completed interviews to twenty-two.

Most of the eight people who were not interviewed played a lesser role during the time period studied. Their exclusion was inconsequential inasmuch as they were representatives of the groups already represented and/or the information they were expected to provide was obtained from other data sources. Although it was not possible to interview all the original interview candidates, all senior decision-makers in office in the Alberta Sport Council, Sport Alberta and Alberta Recreation and Parks between 1981-1984, with the exception of the chair of the Alberta Sport Council, were interviewed.

The collection of interview data and data analysis was an ongoing recursive process. Consequently, information gathered in early interviews influenced the focus of later ones. For this reason the scheduling of interviews was organized to ensure that individuals involved in senior positions within the organizations studied were interviewed towards the end of the data collection. This made it

possible to ask senior organizational actors specific questions related to events and issues raised by lower level actors and other sources of data.

Interviews were conducted throughout Alberta in a variety of locations. These locations were: the homes of respondents, respondents' places of work and the researcher's office at the University. One interview was conducted over the phone. Interviews lasted anywhere from a minimum of 45 minutes to a maximum of 90 minutes. Of the 22 interviews, 14 were recorded. Eight interviews were not recorded because the equipment necessary to record the interview was not available or because the researcher felt the interviewee might be more candid if the interview was not recorded.

Of the 14 recorded interviews, 13 were transcribed verbatim directly onto computer disks using the program Wordperfect. All transcripts were reviewed by the researcher to ensure their accuracy. There were a few occasions when the transcriber misinterpreted or excluded words. These inaccuracies and omissions were corrected. It was impossible to transcribe one of the recorded interviews because the recording was inaudible due to audio interference generated by mechanical noises in the tape recorder that was used. Extensive field notes were taken during and following the other eight interviews. These notes were later typed into computer files.

Topics Addressed in the Interviews

Prior to the administration of the interviews a list of general research topics was developed. These research topics were derived by considering the theoretical ideas discussed in Chapter Two. A master list of potential interview questions was developed next. These questions were designed to elicit responses that would provide data relevant to the research questions. Prior to each interview the master list was customized to suit the context of each candidate's involvement as it was felt that too many irrelevant questions might hamper the flow of the interviews and respondents would be more at ease and forthcoming with responses if the majority of questions addressed the context of their

involvement. For example, questions about the day-to-day operation of the Alberta Sport Council were omitted from the set of questions that was administered to persons whose sport involvement ended prior to the creation of the council.

Below is an outline of the research topics. This list is followed by the master list of interview questions.

Research Topics

I. Demographic information

A. Characteristics of key leaders

1. What demographic features (i.e. race, gender, class, ethnicity) are representative of key individuals involved in the creation and implementation of the Alberta Sport Council?

II. Historical Background and Events.

A. Chronology of Events.

1. What is the chronology of events that led up to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council?

III. Scope of Authority

A. *Pre-Council Period (Pre-1983)*

1. Patterns of participation and authority of politicians in power.

2. Patterns of participation and authority of government institutions and civil servants.
3. Patterns of participation and authority of the legislative assembly.
4. Patterns of participation and authority of collectives representing the sport community.
5. Patterns of participation and authority of any other key interest groups or individuals (i.e. the federal government or the Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation).
6. Individual's own involvement.

B. *Post-Council Period (1983-1988)*

1. Patterns of participation and authority of the Alberta Sport Council.
2. Patterns of participation and authority of politicians in power.
3. Patterns of participation and authority of government institutions and civil servants.
4. Patterns of participation and authority of the legislative assembly.
5. Patterns of participation and authority of collectives representing the sport community.
6. Patterns of participation and authority of any other key interest groups or individuals (i.e. the federal government or the Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation).
7. Individual's own involvement.

C. Comparative Issues

1. Have any changes taken place in the power and/or authority of any groups over the delivery of sport in Alberta?

IV. Contradictions

- A. Sport's role in the economy.
- B. Unresolved dilemmas in sport pre- and post-Alberta Sport Council.

Potential Interview Questions

I. Demographic information

A. Characteristics of key leaders

1. Please tell me a little about your general background with sport and how you became involved with this (these) particular sport organization(s).
2. What type of person is likely to be appointed to the council's board of directors? Why?

II. Historical Background and Events.

1. In your opinion what were some of the major events that resulted in the idea for the Alberta Sport Council?
2. In your opinion, who do you believe were the most influential people as far as bringing the Sport Council into being is concerned?

III. Scope of Authority

A. *Pre-Council Period (Pre-1983)*

1. What is your opinion of the process that led to the creation of the Sport Council?
2. At one point in time, Sport Alberta was responsible for a number of the services now provided by the Alberta Sport Council. Why in your opinion has its role in sport changed so dramatically? Why in your opinion did the provincial government change the nature of its endorsement of Sport Alberta?

B. *Post-Council Period (1983-1988)*

1. Describe your opinion of the relationship between the council and government departments that are responsible for sport. What is your opinion of this relationship? Has (have) this (these) department(s) attempted to exercise control over the council? How is this accomplished?
2. Describe your opinion of the relationship between the Alberta Sport Council and the many provincial associations with which it must deal. What if anything do you think these groups would like to change? How likely are such changes to occur?
3. Has the creation of the Alberta Sport Council changed the role of government in the delivery of sport? On what grounds is your opinion based?
4. To whom, in your opinion, is the council responsible?
5. What is your opinion of the Alberta Sport Council's structure and function? Is it appropriate to the demands it must meet? Are there changes that you believe are necessary? Why?

6. Who are the key decision makers within the Alberta Sport Council?
7. Is the Alberta Sport Council a collective voice for sport? If yes, how does it accomplish this? If no, is there a need for an alternative voice for sport?
8. Has the council as it exists now lived up to the expectations people (i.e. the Ad Hoc Committee) had for it when it was being conceived?
9. After several years of operation, what have proven to be some of the more concrete/substantive advantages of the Crown corporation approach to sport delivery and funding? What have been some of the most obvious disadvantages? Which of these results were anticipated? Which of these results were unanticipated?

IV. Contradictions

1. Does sport play a role in the economy of Alberta?
2. What are some of the major issues/dilemmas that face the Alberta Sport Council today? What makes these such major issues? Will they be difficult to solve?
3. What are some of the major issues faced by other sports groups? (Follow-up as per # 2.)
4. What in your opinion have been the major criticisms, just and unjust, of the council? What reasons explain the unjust criticisms?

Collection of Organizational and Archival Documents

Organizational and archival documents were collected as a means of supplementing and confirming the accuracy of the information collected in the interviews. In this study several types of organizational and archival documents were considered:

1. Alberta government publications related to sport policy
2. Annual reports of the Alberta Sport Council, the Alberta Games Council, Alberta Department of Recreation and Parks
3. Minutes of Sport Alberta meetings
4. Letters (e.g. government correspondence, letters to the Minister of Alberta Recreation and Parks)
5. Press releases
6. Committee reports (e.g. Ad Hoc Committee on Sport Coordination in Alberta, Intersport Task Force Committee)
7. Legislation
8. Newspaper and magazine articles
9. Scholarly publications dealing with politics and/or sport development in Alberta and elsewhere.

These documents were retrieved from a variety of sources that included public and university libraries, private collections, the Queen's Printer, the Glenbow Museum and Archives and the Provincial Archives.

Analysis and Treatment of the Data

Data analysis was an ongoing process throughout the administration of this study. Several techniques were used to analyze the interviews and documents as they were being collected. This approach to data collection and analysis was very helpful because as Miles and Huberman (1984) have suggested:

Analysis during data collection lets the fieldworker cycle back and forth between thinking about existing data and generating strategies for collecting new—often better quality—data; it can be a healthy corrective for

built-in blind spots; and it makes analysis an ongoing, lively enterprise that is linked to the energizing effects of fieldwork (p. 49).

In the early stages of data collection, document forms similar to those suggested by Miles and Huberman were developed and filled out for the majority of organizational documents collected (see Appendix A). These forms included space for a document's name, events associated with the document, significance of the document, a summary of the document's contents and questions or issues that needed to be investigated as a result of the document's content. This procedure enabled the researcher to fine-tune future data collection and also facilitated information retrieval during the analysis process that continued after all data had been collected.

Interview data were handled in a manner very similar to that of the documentary evidence. Interview summary forms were developed and filled out at the conclusion of each interview. These forms summarized the interview's main themes and salient points as well as new target questions that might be asked of future interviewees. Interviews and documents were also subjected to a rigorous and intensive analytical process that combined aspects of latent content analysis with aspects of grounded theory development (cf. Strauss, 1987; Turner, 1981). Data were coded into categories and sub-categories relevant to the study's focus on the development and impact of the Alberta Sport Council. These categories (e.g. inter-organizational relationships, decline of Sport Alberta, consequences of Sport Alberta, etc.) and sub-categories (e.g. Sport Alberta relationship with Alberta Sport Council, expertise of Sport Alberta Board and bureaucratization of sport, etc.) were used to develop a number of topic areas. As the results for each section of this study were compiled, the information associated with each topic area was consulted and evaluated in conjunction with other documentary evidence and field notes to form the basis of the observations and conclusions of this study.

A number of microcomputer-assisted techniques were used to aid the data analysis. These techniques were developed independently as they have not

appeared in other research. The use of a microcomputer did not play a significant role in the data analysis due to the small sample of interviews to which these techniques were applied and to the fact that the microcomputer did not by itself actually analyse the data. Nonetheless, several valuable lessons about the advantages and disadvantages of using microcomputers to assist in the organization of qualitative data were learned as this study progressed. A personal account of these lessons is provided in Appendix B.

Chapter Four

Sports Interests and the Struggle for Public Status, Part One: Sport Alberta, the Progressive Conservatives and Corporatist Ideology

The events leading up to the enactment of *Bill 21, An Act to Establish the Alberta Sport Council* are presented in this and the following chapter. Enacted in 1984, this legislation officially marked the beginning of the Alberta Sport Council, a Crown corporation assigned the responsibility of overseeing sport development in Alberta. This legislation emerged from an effort to create an institution that would act as a unified voice, speaking on behalf of all Albertans interested in the development of sport in Alberta. The events culminate in an ironic situation: although the initiative to create this institution came from individuals who were detached from the provincial government and leery of government intervention, the organization that was born as a result of their struggle would be one over which they would have little authority in comparison to that of the provincial government.

The results of the study are organized chronologically, beginning in 1963, continuing through the enactment of *Bill 21, An Act to Establish the Alberta Sport Council* in 1984, until the present. Much of the sport development activity that took place during this time period focused on developing a means through which sport development in Alberta could be effectively and efficiently co-ordinated. The first organization created for this purpose was called Sport Alberta. Sport Alberta was created in 1972 as an independent association of provincial sport organizations. It struggled for over a decade to represent and co-ordinate the interests of Alberta's amateur sport groups. In 1984, when the Alberta Sport Council was implemented, Sport Alberta subsequently withered into obscurity.

The study begins with a brief discussion of the Alberta government's involvement in sport development prior to 1971. This main part of the study is presented in three sections. Each section is organized to follow the chronology of government intervention in sport development in Alberta. Part One is presented

in this chapter and examines the five-year time period between 1972 and 1977. This period is distinguished by the birth of Sport Alberta and its subsequent struggle for legitimacy and official recognition from the government of Alberta and the sport community. It is also characterized by a significant increase in the degree and kind of funding provided to sport organizations by the Alberta government. By 1977 it became clear that Sport Alberta was losing its struggle for legitimacy when the government usurped control of the programs essential to this legitimacy. It was at that time that the Alberta government created the Alberta Games Council, its first sport-related Crown corporation.

Part Two is presented in Chapter Five and examines the time period from 1978 through 1984 and the enactment of the legislation that created the Alberta Sport Council. During this third time period discussion focusing on the co-ordination of sport in Alberta was reopened. An Ad Hoc Committee was formed to ascertain the needs of the sport community and to submit a proposal for action. The government also began to formulate its first official policy on sport and recreation development in Alberta. The idea of creating an Alberta Sport Federation was put forward and after some debate and discussion it was determined that a new Crown corporation, the Alberta Sport Council, would be created. The Alberta Sport Council significantly changed the character of sport development.

Part Three is presented in Chapter Six. It examines the Alberta Sport Council's impact on sport development in three areas. First, concerns regarding the composition of the council's board of directors are discussed to illustrate concern that control over sport development in Alberta has been secured by an alliance between government and Alberta businessmen. Second, concerns associated with the growth of Alberta's sport bureaucracy are discussed and compared with concerns of those raised in other studies. Third, concerns about the focus of the Alberta Sport Council's programs are presented.

Background to the Study: The Social Credit and the Pursuit of an Integrated Sport System, 1963-1971.

While there are few published commentaries that provide a detailed account of the history of the Alberta government's role in sport development, there have been a number of dissertations that have focused on this subject. Two dissertations of particular interest to this study are those written by Richard Baka (1978) and Ernie Nicholls (1982).

Baka's (1978) historical account of the Alberta government's involvement with sport in Alberta begins in 1905 and covers a period through 1977. The period 1905 through 1938 is described as one in which government involvement was very limited, with some very small contributions made to sport organizations. The next period examined by Baka spans 1938 through 1955. It is during this period that the Social Credit Party gained control of the provincial government and joined the federal government's "Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Program". A very small health and recreation branch of the Department of Education was formed and staffed by a single individual until 1945 when staff size increased slightly. As in the previous time period, involvement with sport was minimal apart from agreements made under the National Physical Fitness Act and a small number of grants provided to sport organizations as in the past. A notable feature of the period 1955-1966 was the establishment of the Community Recreation Bureau (CRB) in 1955 which by 1961 was transformed into the Recreation and Cultural Development Branch, the government agency primarily responsible for sport as well as numerous other areas. Baka's review of budgets during that time period indicates a steady increase in government assistance to culture. Baka notes that gradually the CRB began to take on a supportive role in the area of sport. This role was one where assistance was provided to communities and organizations in the administration and operation of recreation programs. In addition, a number of coaching, officials and participant clinics were sponsored or co-sponsored by Alberta's provincial government in conjunction with

the federal government through provisions contained in the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act.

It was during this time period when the disinterested Social Credit government agreed to fund a workshop titled "Operation Giant Stride." This workshop, held March 8-10, 1963, brought many leaders from within the Alberta sport community together for the first time to discuss several issues related to the future of sport- and fitness-oriented activities in Alberta. In a letter sent to provincial associations by the workshop's steering committee, the workshop's purpose was described as being "to encourage the various provincial sporting groups of Amateur Athletic and Outdoor Education to make suggestions as to how this division (Athletics and Outdoor Education) may serve the Fitness and Recreation movements in Alberta more effectively." Nicholls (1982) notes that this provincial workshop is significant because it was the first forum in which the notion of a single unified voice for amateur sport was mentioned. It was funded by the provincial government primarily because the government was apprehensive about duplication, overlap and a frequent lack of continuity in the programs offered by the numerous provincial associations and municipalities and by the government. It was successful in bringing a large group of people with very diverse interest and backgrounds together to exchange ideas. However, Nicholls (1982) concludes that aside from the enthusiasm that was generated "little else of a concrete nature developed in the matter of the formation of a provincial sports collective" (p. 102).

Four years later in 1967 the idea for a provincial sports collective would surface once again at a seminar sponsored by the government's Department of Youth. This time the government was interested in discovering a means whereby co-operation might be used to enhance the opportunities for Albertans to participate in a wide variety of sports. The seminar concluded that an advisory council on amateur sport be established. By January 1968 a ten-member committee was established with the task of determining if a single body, speaking

on behalf of all sports associations, was in the best interests of the development of amateur sport.

The notion of a single sport body was raised again at a second major seminar of provincial sport governing bodies in March 1969. Once again the seminar was sponsored by the Alberta government's Department of Youth. Nicholls (1982) notes that this was an information-sharing session where discussion focused on facilitating communication between associations and eliciting their views on the feasibility of establishing an Alberta Sports Federation.

Finally, in April 1970 the Department of Youth sponsored a third seminar with some assistance from the Alberta Council on Amateur Sports. This seminar was conducted to review the report of the Alberta Council on Amateur Sports and discuss the feasibility of continuing to pursue the establishment of an Alberta Sports Federation. The report contained 21 recommendations. The first recommendation was that a sports federation be established immediately. The remaining 20 recommendations focused on specifying guidelines for the establishment of the federation. They dealt with administration and composition, financing and initial goals.

As outlined in the recommendations a steering committee was created to implement all accepted recommendations. On November 21, 1970, the steering committee addressed a motion pertaining to the establishment of an Alberta Amateur Sports Federation. The motion was approved and followed by a motion which changed the name to Sport Alberta. On April 10, 1972, Sport Alberta was formally registered under the Societies Act in Alberta.

The objects of Sport Alberta as outlined in its constitution and bylaws were:

- a. To promote amateur sport in the province of Alberta.
- b. To act as a forum for the exchange of members' views.
- c. To act as liaison with government agencies and to bring before the provincial government such recommendations as approved by the society.

- d. To correlate the efforts of all amateur sports governing bodies in Alberta in stimulating interest in amateur sport.
- e. To assist in the development, organization and execution of the Alberta Summer and Winter Games.

Now formally registered, it appeared that Sport Alberta could focus entirely on the five points of its mandate, but that would not be an easy task. Sport Alberta had to struggle very hard to firmly establish itself as the legitimate voice of the sports community and as a legitimate source of leadership in sport development. The Social Credit government had been supportive of the formation of Sport Alberta without making any explicit demands on the organization. However, in 1971 the Social Credit Party lost its majority in the provincial legislature to the Progressive Conservative Party. The Progressive Conservative approach to government would be entirely different to that of the Social Credit Party.

The Progressive Conservative Party

Although the seeds to create an organization to oversee sport development in Alberta were planted during the tenure of the Social Credit Party, they would germinate in a fundamentally different social and political climate. From the moment of its inception, Sport Alberta would struggle tenaciously with its members and with the provincial government to establish itself as a legitimate institution. In its first five years it would lose several important battles, many of which those interviewed for this study suggest contributed to its eventual demise.

The social, economic and political context within which Sport Alberta was born has been described as one of rapid social and economic change in Alberta (Baka, 1978)¹⁰. This period of change and growth, which began in the mid-1960s and lasted until the mid-1970s, was partly a consequence of the wealth resulting from Alberta's expanding oil revenues. Richards and Pratt (1979) note that

¹⁰ See also Richards and Pratt, 1979; Pratt, 1986.

during this time period, marked by the beginning of the 1970s, Alberta's population saw the advent of a new middle class, "urban and secular in its outlook and impatient with the Social Credit's blend of religious fundamentalism and the remnants of its agrarian populist past" (p. 166). It was this new middle class that gave Peter Lougheed the support that eventually enabled the Progressive Conservative Party to wrest control of the provincial government out of the hands of the Social Credit Party.

Several political analysts have stressed that the election of the Progressive Conservatives marked a new era in Alberta politics and a distinctive approach to government (cf. Alexander, Clement, Marchak, Pratt, & Percy, 1981; Pratt, 1977, 1986; Richards & Pratt, 1979). In contrast to their Social Credit predecessors the Progressive Conservatives advocated an entrepreneurial approach to government, emphasizing "economic development and the enhancement of Alberta's power position within Confederation" (Shaffer, 1986, p. 119). This approach, spearheaded by Progressive Conservative Party leader Peter Lougheed, has been described as "province building" in which:

the resources of an interventionist provincial government are being employed to nurture the development and defend the interests of an ascendant regional bourgeoisie. The purposes of this rising class are to strengthen its control over the Alberta economy, foster regional capital accumulation, [and] reduce Alberta's dependence on external political and economic forces (Richards and Pratt, 1979, p. 215).

Richards and Pratt (1979) highlight an assortment of tactics characteristic of a businesslike approach to public affairs that accompanied this new focus on economic development. Two notable tactics from this assortment were intervention through quasi-state corporations and joint ventures, and the relegation of discussion and decision-making to the secrecy of cabinet chambers and federal-provincial conferences. This left the legislature with a minor role (Tupper, 1986). "Lougheed's philosophy could be described as corporatism inspired by the purpose of winning business support for intervention and of giving

the public a sense of participation in large scale economic development" (Richards and Pratt, 1979, p. 242).

This section explores the relationship between Sport Alberta and Alberta's Progressive Conservative government during the time period between the years 1971 and 1977. Key events that marked this period of frequent and rapid change in the Alberta government's involvement with sport delivery and development are outlined. These events culminated with the creation of the Alberta Games Council, the Crown corporation that would later be transformed into the Alberta Sport Council. The analysis presented here reveals that the Alberta Games Council emerged as a consequence of the actions of specific individuals and the influence of institutional factors of a structural nature. The institutional factor deemed to be the primary determining ingredient is the Progressive Conservative government's unfolding corporatist ideology. The analysis of the data collected for this study indicates that the Progressive Conservative government's corporatist tactics were not restricted to economic policy in the oil and gas industries or other sectors of the Alberta economy. These tactics also influenced the government's approach to sport development in Alberta in such a way as to recast the role played by the various social groups involved in sport and the scope of government authority over sport development. The implementation of a corporatist ideology is also illustrative of the links between the structure of the economy, economic policy and sport policy.

The shift from a Social Credit to a Conservative government gave rise to a period of transformation in which there was a significant change in the degree and kind of government involvement with sport development. Considering that the Progressive Conservatives were new to governing and Alberta was riding the wave of an economic boom, it is not surprising to discover that during the first five years of Progressive Conservative government rule there was an "almost annual" restructuring in the elements of the government bureaucracy assigned to deal with sport (Baka, 1978). For example, in 1971 a Department of Culture, Recreation and Youth was introduced and replaced the Youth Department and the

Recreation Branch, which had replaced the Recreation and Cultural Development Branch of the early '60s. In 1975 a new Department of Recreation Parks and Wildlife was created which in 1976 was followed by a major restructuring of the Recreation Development Division.

Amidst this constant organizational shuffling the Alberta government expanded and revised the role of its primary agency responsible for sport. The magnitude of this expansion is indicated by the growing size of the government agency responsible for sport and an increase in the amount of money that was being spent on sport. Figures unearthed by Baka (1978) show that in the year 1966 \$512,416.91 was spent on sport while in 1976 the budget of the Recreation Development Division was \$6,547,676.00, of which 1.2 million was dispersed to the Sport and Fitness Branch. Over this ten-year period spending had increased tenfold.

Government involvement with sport development was not limited to the events that took place within its bureaucratic structure. As noted earlier, the government supported an effort to create a non-government organization to facilitate sport development in Alberta that began in 1967. During the 1970s, government expanded its relationship with Sport Alberta in a manner that had many consequences for sport development. The relationship between Sport Alberta and the provincial government underlies much of the analysis of Sport Alberta contained in Nicholls' (1982) dissertation about the structure and function of three sport collectives in Western Canada. The events that came to pass as a result of this relationship would inadvertently set the stage for the birth of the Alberta Sport Council and the demise of Sport Alberta.

Nicholls (1982) indicates that three of the recommendations for the creation of an Alberta Sports Federation (read Sport Alberta) made by the Alberta Council on Amateur Sport in 1970 were never implemented. The recommendations were:

1. That each member association [of Sport Alberta] provide \$200 of its governmental special projects grant of \$300 to the

new sports federation for promotion of amateur sport in the province.

2. That efforts be made in conjunction with the Minister of Youth to set aside a capital sum from the Provincial Treasury for the establishment of a fund for amateur sports and recreation.
3. That all budgets and requests for grants of the provincial sports associations be channelled through the new sports federation for submissions as one large request for funding by government (Nicholls, 1982, p. 107).

Nicholls (1982) argues that these three recommendations are noteworthy merely because they were never implemented. Notwithstanding this conclusion, it is possible to argue that had these three recommendations been fulfilled Sport Alberta may have been able to attain a greater degree of legitimacy as a voice for the sport community. These three recommendations could have served to enhance Sport Alberta's legitimacy in two ways. First, Sport Alberta would have received the funds necessary to establish the strong financial base necessary for it to achieve its objectives. Second, by implementing the third recommendation the government would have communicated that it recognized Sport Alberta to be the legitimate and official liaison between government and provincial sport associations. With such a sanction Sport Alberta would have been able to focus on implementing programs to enhance sport development through its member associations. Without this sanction Sport Alberta had to devote a considerable amount of time and energy towards activities aimed at establishing its legitimacy.

The reasons why these recommendations were never implemented are unclear, but they may have something to do with the fact that, midway through the struggle to create a collective voice for sport in Alberta, control of the provincial government changed hands. With the change of the party in power there also came a new approach to politics and government in Alberta which, on the substance of the evidence collected for this study, appears to have worked against the viability of Sport Alberta. The idea for Sport Alberta emerged under a Social Credit government. The Conservative Party did complete what the Social

Credit had begun. However, the commitment to the intent of this initiative was at the very least tenuous.

Following its creation Sport Alberta wasted little time establishing programs to fulfil its objectives as a collective voice for and supporter of the amateur sports community. Initial projects implemented by Sport Alberta included: the development and execution of the Alberta Winter and Summer Games, establishment of a central administrative centre for sport, development of a central computerized sports registry, implementation of fund-raising programs to support sport, enhancement of Sport Alberta's relations with government and the inception of a program to establish an Alberta sports hall of fame. In its efforts to implement each of these projects, Sport Alberta faced many difficulties, which appear to follow from Sport Alberta's relationship with the Progressive Conservative government and its bureaucracy. They would also lead many members of the sports community and government to question Sport Alberta's ability to live up to its mandate.

Considering that Sport Alberta came into being as the result of initiatives sponsored by the Alberta government, it is ironic that government action and disregard played a role in Sport Alberta's failure to overcome these difficulties. For example, consider Sport Alberta's efforts to raise funds. The first of the three recommendations advanced by the Alberta Council on Amateur Sport noted above was never implemented. At the founding meeting of the society, membership fees had been set at \$25 per association, the equivalent of 1/8 of the amount recommended by the Alberta Council on Amateur Sport (Nicholls, 1982, p. 123). With a membership of 60 associations, the \$1,500 collected in membership fees was far below Sport Alberta's operating expenses of more than \$44,000.

In an effort to make up the difference, Sport Alberta turned to the government for support. In January 1970 a brief was submitted to the Minister of Youth and Culture. Before the brief could be acted upon, however, the election that led to the defeat of the Social Credit Party was called. Several months

passed before the new and inexperienced Progressive Conservative government got around to dealing with this matter. Nicholls (1982) reports that Sport Alberta revised its brief and re-submitted it to the new government. He also notes, "As a document designed to substantiate a request for significant funding from the public purse, the brief was sadly lacking . . ." (Nicholls, 1982, p. 127). A letter from the Honourable Minister dated November 15, 1971 advised Sport Alberta that extra funds were not presently available, but \$34,000 would be given to Sport Alberta for the 1972-73 fiscal year.

According to Nicholls (1982), Sport Alberta also attempted to raise funds through a lottery scheme that would be run in conjunction with a publishing company. The Attorney General's office would not give the organization permission to operate the lottery in Alberta. Nonetheless, the Minister of Culture, Youth and Recreation provided the funds required for Sport Alberta to begin to develop the infrastructure necessary to go ahead with its sports lottery or another similar fund-raising scheme by means of a \$20,000 loan. However, the Attorney General's office could not be convinced to approve either of the two lottery schemes the organization had presented. Sport Alberta had plainly failed in its endeavour to obtain government sanction of this very important fund-raising initiative. This, however, was not the only area where the organization failed to get the government to sanction its activities and to recognize it as the legitimate representative of Alberta's sport community.

Sport Alberta was involved with two other more important and more visible initiatives which the government handled in a completely different manner. The first of these initiatives involved the establishment and co-ordination of a central administrative centre for provincial sports associations. The second initiative involved the establishment and co-ordination of the Alberta Games. The government's involvement with these two initiatives would ultimately have a greater impact on Sport Alberta and sport development in Alberta than the government's response to Sport Alberta's fund-raising ideas.

Sport Alberta approached the government in order to receive some financial assistance so it could establish a centralized sport administration centre for its member associations. As Nicholls (1982) points out, in view of the growing trend towards the establishment of centralized sport administrative centres that was characteristic of the early 1970s, it is not surprising that sports associations in Alberta began to request that an amateur sport administration centre similar to those established in Ontario, Quebec and Ottawa be set up in Alberta¹¹. The Alberta government responded by acquiring space in an old school located in St. Albert. By 1973 the building was ready for occupancy. According to Nicholls, during a 1972 meeting, Sport Alberta's board of directors discussed its fear that its control of a central administrative support services office that it had already established might be taken away by the provincial government. Nonetheless, Sport Alberta decided to support the centre provided that Sport Alberta would be designated to take on the number one leadership role in administration.

Unfortunately for Sport Alberta, this demand would ultimately be ignored as it became "lost in the excitement of the government's decisions regarding the Alberta Summer Games programme" (Nicholls, 1982, p. 122). The administrative centre was established without Sport Alberta acting as its manager. The government had successfully appropriated the leadership role in the development of the administration of amateur sport in Alberta. The organization was unable to claim status as the legitimate leader in this capacity and this would ultimately hinder its efforts to gain support from the community.

While Sport Alberta's failure to gain recognition as the director of the provincial sport administrative centre was a significant blow to its quest for legitimacy, it was a gentle rebuff in comparison to the fatal impact of the government's decision to remove the administration of the Alberta Games from

¹¹ Macintosh et al. (1987) note that the development of provincial sport administration centres occurred partly as a result of the creation of the Canada Games (p. 37).

the hands of Sport Alberta. This decision came about as a means to resolve a conflict between the board of directors of Sport Alberta and its Executive/Managing Director, Mr. Ron Butlin. More than one individual interviewed for this study referred to this decision and time period as "the beginning of the end" for Sport Alberta.

Nicholls' (1982) analysis of Sport Alberta devotes considerable attention to this time period and describes it as the "Butlin years, 1973-1977." During this time period concerns about the closeness between government officials and Alberta Summer Games Officials (including Ron Butlin) were being raised by members of the sport community¹². The conflict which has made this period of time noteworthy is often referred to as the "Butlin Affair." According to Nicholls (1982), the Butlin Affair entailed a dispute between the board of directors of Sport Alberta and its Executive/Managing Director, regarding the administration of the Alberta Games. At Sport Alberta's 1975 Annual General Meeting the question of Sport Alberta's authority over policy decisions pertaining to the Alberta Winter Games program was raised. In particular, "a member association (the Alberta Basketball Association) was then wanting to enter the Games with competition for age-class (13 and 14) competitors" (Nicholls, 1982, p. 154). This was in direct contrast to the Games Policy Committee's position that competition at the Games be for senior competitors. Butlin advised that such disagreements with member sports would be settled between each sport and the Games Policy Committee (which makes the decisions and regulations pertaining to the Games).

Nicholls (1982) notes that shortly after this seemingly innocuous meeting of 1975, the board of directors of Sport Alberta had become concerned about Butlin's relationship with government officials. This was indicated by a letter sent from the Director of Sport and Fitness, Dwight Ganske, to Ron Butlin. Nicholls (1982) draws attention to Ganske's comment that Butlin was not really an

¹² This concern is also discussed in a term paper written by John K. Yardley (1981). This paper was discovered in the Glenbow Museum Archives.

employee of Sport Alberta in the strictest sense since Butlin's salary was paid to him by the government **through** Sport Alberta. Ganske also observed that Butlin had done most of his dealing directly with the Minister and Deputy Minister. Finally, Ganske referred to a need to clarify the role played by the many groups involved with the Alberta Games: Sport Alberta; Alberta Recreation, Parks and Wildlife; the Alberta Games Policy Committee; the Chairman of the policy committee and other government departments (Nicholls, 1982, 154-157). The lack of clearly defined roles allowed Butlin to play many of these groups off against one another.

Approximately one year later Butlin began to pressure Sport Alberta to reorganize. He was particularly eager to see the Alberta Games separated from Sport Alberta. Butlin expressed his opinion in a letter sent to the minister in charge of Recreation, Parks and Wildlife and to other interested parties including Sport Alberta's board of directors. Upset by Butlin's remarks, the board members responded quickly by requesting a meeting with the minister. They also ordered Butlin to present the board with financial statements and the terms of reference of the Alberta Games Policy Committee. Both the minister and Butlin chose to ignore these requests. However, officials with the Sport and Fitness Branch of the government made an effort to bring the minister together with Sport Alberta's board of directors as a means to resolving the problems that were developing.

According to a number of individuals that Nicholls (1982) interviewed, the animosity that was about to erupt between Butlin and the Sport Alberta Board had been brewing for a long time:

Wrangling intensified as Sport Alberta wrote to the minister of Recreation, Parks and Wildlife demanding clarification regarding who was in control of the Alberta Games and the financial affairs of Sport Alberta. At the 1976 annual general meeting of Sport Alberta an unsuccessful effort was made to ameliorate the situation. A further attempt to cool the situation made via the resolutions passed at Intersport II also failed:

After the raucous Intersport II meeting and the strained annual meeting of 1976, relations between Butlin and Sport Alberta's board broke down almost completely. It seemed, in the ensuing flurry of charges and counter-charges, that almost open warfare had been declared (Nicholls, 1982, p. 170).

Throughout 1976 the situation escalated. Several board members took pleas for the government to intervene to the office of the premier. The government stated that it "would not interfere in the internal affairs of Sport Alberta nor become centrally involved in the dispute between Sport Alberta and its managing director" (Nicholls, 1982, p. 181). Nonetheless, the government did intervene. On February 3, 1977, the minister met with all the parties involved and announced that the Alberta Games would no longer be under the jurisdiction of Sport Alberta. They were, effective April 1, 1977, to be transferred to a newly created Crown corporation, the Alberta Games Council.

Analysis: The Role of Agency and Structure in the Introduction of Corporatism to Sport Development

Insight into each of the theoretical questions that form the basis of this study was gained by treating Sport Alberta's struggle for legitimacy as a struggle to obtain public status¹³. In many instances, interviewees indicated that the friction between Sport Alberta and the Alberta government was tied to issues related to each organization's ability to influence sport development. Without public status, Sport Alberta's power and influence were severely limited.

¹³ Offe (1985) defines public status in terms of the specifically attributed formal status of a group, as opposed to relations of informal co-operation between political and other segments of the elite, and status resulting from ad hoc tactical considerations of various groups or branches of the state. "Formal status is based on legal statute and formally adopted procedural rules that give the interest group some claim on a specific status" (Offe, 1985, p. 238). That is to say interest group-based organizations that have relationships with government that have been formalized through legislation are deemed to have public status.

Offe (1985) has shown that the simultaneous use of three levels of analysis can yield important insights as to why an interest group succeeds or fails in its bid to secure public status. Consequently, the analysis of this time period focuses on the level of the individual social actor, the level of the organization itself and the level of the social system in general. Using these levels of analysis it is possible to illuminate the characteristics of key individuals and their impact on Sport Alberta's struggle. Key traits of the changes in the Alberta government's scope of authority over sport development were also revealed. Furthermore, insight was also gained into key social and structural factors.

(1) The Role of Social Actors

The data most relevant to this level of analysis came from interviews and data contained in Nicholls' thesis. The people interviewed for this study were asked to indicate what they believed were the key reasons that explained why Sport Alberta lost the authority to administer the Alberta Games. Several interviewees raised the issue of Sport Alberta's competence in their accounts of its failure to gain government support, while others praised the efforts of the individuals who were involved at that time. Overall, the overwhelming majority of interviewees praised the contributions made by the individuals involved during that period. For example, Dr. Gerald Glassford, former dean of physical education at the University of Alberta, summed up their contribution by saying,

I think that Sport Alberta did create a number of programs. They took on the creation of the Sport Museum, Sport Hall of Fame, they retained the concept of let's get together, we can be a voice for sport, and they did do that. There were a number of things that they did and they did well.

People's opinions differed with regard to the administrative competence of Sport Alberta. However, many agreed that conflict between individuals overshadowed the association's contributions to sport development. The conflict between Ron Butlin and the Sport Alberta board of directors was identified as a key factor. The significance of this prominent conflict is described by Nicholls

(1982) who commented on Sport Alberta's situation in 1977 following its loss of jurisdiction over the Alberta Games. He noted, "Sport Alberta's lifetime has been fraught with difficulties. It would seem to be at a precarious point in its existence and must attend to the business of making a fresh start" (Nicholls, 1982, p. 207). This assessment of Sport Alberta's delicate nature at that time is confirmed by the interview data. Gwen Smith, a former President of Sport Alberta, noted that:

With the Games gone [there was] very little left for them [Sport Alberta] to do because they didn't have enough money. With just Paul Conrad as executive director and the secretary, they didn't have enough personnel to really do good programs and they didn't want to up the membership fees of the sports because they weren't doing that much for the sports. You can't charge membership fees if you're not going to give them something.

While Nicholls (1982) documents many of the events that took place during this conflict, he does not attempt to offer an explanation or rationale for the government's decision to remove the Games from Sport Alberta's jurisdiction. Nicholls' account describes how in April 1974 Butlin signed a nine-clause agreement to become the executive director of Sport Alberta. The agreement gave Butlin considerable powers including: the complete authority over the entire operating budget of Sport Alberta, the authority to hire staff who would be responsible to himself and the assurance that the contract could only be terminated by Sport Alberta in the event of the embezzlement of funds by the executive director (Nicholls, 1982, p. 145). The then-minister of Culture, Youth, and Recreation, Horst Schmid, authorized his Department to provide Sport Alberta with the necessary funds to cover Butlin's salary, emphasizing that Mr. Butlin's responsibility would be the development of the Alberta Games.

The data collected for this study indicate that a close relationship between Ron Butlin and government officials had been developing long before his involvement with the Alberta Games and Sport Alberta. Horst Schmid described the events leading up to Ron Butlin's involvement as follows:

Anyway, I was at that [hockey] game and a Pastor or a Bishop actually and a Rabbi, both of them from Calgary, introduced me to Ron Butlin. . . . I met him, I talked to him and as I talked to him I felt, my God, that's the

guy. Because of his attitude, his personality, because of the obvious promoting kind of personality he had. . . . I thought, my God, that's the guy. I needed a promoter, I needed someone who knew some of the ministers, which he did, and someone who could say, 'oh ya, this guy is from that corporation, you Molson's here, and this corporation there' and also, of course, I needed someone who understood sports, who knew what sports is all about and who would be accepted by the sporting community. He had it all in one. . . . Then and there I said, 'You are the one for the Alberta Games.' He said, 'Huh!' I explained to him what it was all about. We set up a contract and that was it. That's how it got started.

Evidence cited by Yardley (1981) further indicates Ron Butlin's rapport with government officials. Yardley (1981) writes that Sport Alberta was forced to sign Butlin's contract under government duress:

According to Mr [sic] Bob Lucas, the then President of Sport Alberta, Mr [sic] Butlin arrived one day with a contract he said had been approved by the then Recreation Minister Horst Schmid and implied, 'that if Sport Alberta did not agree, its funding would be cut off completely.' Edmonton Report also reported that it had obtained a copy of an 'inhouse' evaluation of Sport Alberta prepared for Hon. Adair in 1976 in which they report,

the board members are said to have been thrown off their guard when the government talked to Mr [sic] Butlin rather than the Sport Alberta board about the contract. The directors, according the report, were 'manipulated' into signing a contract they would regret (p. 21).

Several individuals described Butlin as a shrewd manipulator who knew how to use the system. One individual used the following words to sum up Butlin's style:

And Ron would be wise, he'd work with Sport Alberta as it helped him and when it didn't he would run over here and be under the advisory group and if that didn't serve his purposes then he would be under the minister. He was just a manipulator, and again I don't say that negatively, he got things done.

From the accounts of Yardley (1981) and Nicholls (1982) it is evident that government officials never insisted that Ron Butlin make himself accountable to

the Sport Alberta board of directors. Nicholls (1982) also indicated that by May 1976 there were complaints:

... that the Games where the be-all and end-all for Sport Alberta's managing director [Ron Butlin] and certain members of the government, and that the board had lost control of the direction of Sport Alberta (St. John's Edmonton Report, February 21, 1977 p. 18 cited in Nicholls, 1982, p. 166).

As noted earlier, the conflict between Butlin and the Sport Alberta board of directors resulted from disagreements over Alberta Games policy. Nicholls indicates that the source of the conflict can be attributed to a clash of personalities between Mr. Butlin and Mr. Alex Romaniuk. However, in focusing exclusively on the individuals involved, he overlooks the significance of the structural conditions he mentions in his own analysis¹⁴.

(2) Organizational Factors

Models of the sources of conflict that have been put forward by organizational theorists illustrate that while conflict is often related to personality and communication differences, several structural antecedents can also facilitate the potential for conflict within an organization (cf. Daft, 1992; Robbins, 1987). The potential for conflict is influenced by an organization's differentiation, shared resources and interdependent activities. These three factors influence the nature of several emergent attributes of interdepartmental relationships which can lead to perceptions of goal incompatibility and opportunities for interference. Uncertainty, ambiguity and goal orientation are examples of attributes of interdepartmental relationships that develop as a result of an organization's structure and can subsequently lead to conflict.

¹⁴ The significance of "structural antecedents" to organizational conflict is well documented. See Daft (1992) and Robbins (1987) for a detailed discussion of how consideration of these issues can enhance the analysis of conflict.

The data indicates that the ambiguity and uncertainty surrounding the issue of who possessed the ultimate authority over the organization and administration of the Alberta Games were the most important structural issues that promoted the conflict. This ambiguity and uncertainty interacted with the distinct goal orientations that developed within Sport Alberta to produce a conflict. Distinctive goal orientations were evident as far as the administration of the Alberta Games were concerned. There was some disparity between the views of Sport Alberta and its members on the one hand, and the provincial government and Ron Butlin on the other. The board of directors of Sport Alberta viewed the Alberta Games as one of many services it offered to its members. From this point of view Sport Alberta had some responsibility to ensure that this service was administered in a manner that addressed the needs of its member sports associations.

Consequently, when the Alberta Basketball Association made its request for some modifications to the way in which basketball would be conducted at the Games, the board of directors of Sport Alberta tried to comply with the request.

However, the data suggest that the Alberta government had a very different goal orientation that it was attempting to implement with the assistance of Ron Butlin. The government was predominately interested in Sport Alberta as a mechanism through which it could ensure that the Alberta Games would be presented to the public. The Alberta Games were developed out of the Southern Alberta Games which had been started in 1970 by Max Gibb, a recreation consultant of the provincial government. Max Gibb developed these games with the hope that they would help to increase the number of athletes from southern Alberta that were on the Alberta Canada Games team. In 1969 only two athletes from southern Alberta were on that team; by 1975 the number had increased to thirty-nine. While Gibb was primarily concerned with the performance of southern Alberta athletes at the Canada Games, Horst Schmid was concerned about the performance of all Alberta athletes. In an interview Schmid recalled,

Part of the whole idea was . . . how can we in Alberta find in all of Alberta, not just in southern Alberta, the best athletes to compete for

Canada and internationally How can we train them? How can we coach them? [We wanted to] find the best athletes possible and not lose them because they happen to be, let's say from Innisfail and not from Edmonton.

According to the data, Horst Schmid initially requested that the government directly fund the proposed Alberta Games. The request was denied, as few members of the legislature believed that government should have such a direct involvement in sport. Instead, the government agreed it could allocate some funding for the Alberta Games through Sport Alberta. Mr. Schmid accepted this strategy for "it didn't really matter how I was able to get the money for something as long as I was able to get it and say okay here to the body and that body will administer the Games."

The discrepancy between the perception of the members of Sport Alberta and Mr. Schmid's perception of Sport Alberta's role is further illustrated by Mr. Schmid's own comments that "Sport Alberta was still a leftover from the Social Credit government. And when I tried to give them pride in their being, I would have to say it just couldn't get its act together the way they were suppose to (sic)."

Statements unearthed by Yardley (1981) provide a further indication that the leadership of Sport Alberta desired a greater role in sport development than that which could be attained by limiting their activities to the administration of the Alberta Games. According to Yardley (1981), in 1975 the President of Sport Alberta stated, "Although one of our major aims is the Alberta Summer and Winter Games, I feel that the Board of Directors need to work towards the expansion of the other aims of Sport Alberta" (p. 23). Yardley reports that other statements made by the president at that time advised Sport Alberta directors to be "conscious of the needs of sports, to not allow government to take over the administration of amateur sports, and to band the Sports [sic] Associations [sic] together so that they have a strong and powerful voice" (p. 23). Based on these statements, Yardley concludes that there was "a growing concern with the Alberta

Games becoming the only focus of Sport Alberta and that Government had been interfering." (p. 23).

Several people interviewed for this study commented on the negative impact that the dispute over the control of the Games was having on the Games themselves. People also noted that it seemed that the government had become cognizant that the Games had some political value and as a result the government had an interest in doing something to resolve the dispute. The points noted above indicate that the situation was complex. Ron Butlin's ties to government officials hampered his relationship with Sport Alberta, the very organization chosen to be responsible for housing the administration of the Games. Butlin and Sport Alberta's contrasting visions of how the Games should be organized contributed to the dissension. Another component was Sport Alberta's growing aversion to and suspicion of government intervention in their affairs as perceived through the actions of the unwelcome Games administrator.

It had been Ron Butlin's intention to have the Games removed from Sport Alberta's authority. This was accomplished when the act to create the Alberta Games Council was implemented. Yardley (1981) and people interviewed for this study indicated that Ron Butlin was offered the opportunity to be the director of the Alberta Games Council but declined the offer. This suggests that in the end the situation was ultimately resolved in favour of Ron Butlin who must be identified, to some degree, as the government's agent in sport development at the grassroots level.

None of the individuals interviewed for the study suggested that personal relationships had motivated this decision. However, one individual agreed that the decision was indicative of political changes that were in part a consequence of having a Progressive Conservative government:

I think that it was part of it, yes. But I don't think that was the main reason. I think if there had been a higher level of happiness and harmony within the operation [Sport Alberta] when the Progressive Conservative party came into power that it probably would not have done anything to massively change the system. Bob Clark [of the Social Credit] who was, I

think, essentially involved when the original things were put together and was at one time the minister and then he went on to become eventually the leader of his party. . . . he was more of a hands-off type. We'll give you support. You people do it.

When Peter Lougheed's group came into power they had an image of some major changes and to get those changes they couldn't be laissez-faire. They had to get in and do some manipulation. They had to rip some pieces apart and put them together the way they wanted them put together. I don't think that Alberta Games was a part of that original vision. However, when it came obvious that this strife was ongoing, and it was primarily interpersonal relationship problems, rather than straight structural problems, when it became evident I think that the people said, 'We've got to get this to a happier environment. The Games are important and that is where we get visibility. And I think that we should take that out. It cost us \$400,000 a year,' or whatever they were putting into sport games at that time. 'Let's take that out and make sure we have some control over that. We will put the board of directors in place for that and we will have some control over that.'

They put Don Skagen in place, who was a close friend of Peter Lougheed, and a very good businessman and sharp thinker and a very fine individual. So they said let's separate it, give it to a board of directors, give it some life of its own, let the sport governing bodies go on with their thing in organizing the clubs and organizing the individual sports and so forth. And we will just keep them separate. They don't have to be bedfellows in this environment. So they did. I think it started from internal problems, role relationships, role clarity, interpersonal relationships, egocentrism.

Conflicting personalities and organizational problems related to role ambiguity and divergent goal orientation lay at the root of the problems that confronted Sport Alberta and its relationship with the Alberta government. However, these factors do not entirely explain why the government decided to create a Crown corporation in order to resolve the conflict. This decision can be partly explained by examining Peter Lougheed's rejection of a laissez-faire approach to Alberta politics and Alberta's economy that is noted above. This analysis now turns a discussion of the significance of Lougheed's political ideology and its relationship to the political and economic characteristics of Alberta society.

(3) Social System Factors

In addition to the key role played by the actors and organizational factors, there are features of Alberta's social system that also have some bearing on these events as they developed. Richards and Pratt (1979) describe the philosophy of Peter Lougheed's government as "corporatism inspired by the purpose of winning business support for intervention and of giving the public a sense of participation" in government (p. 242). The displacement of Sport Alberta by a Crown corporation is an example of how those aspects of public policy and political strategy that are directly related to the economy can also infiltrate ancillary sectors. This becomes evident when one considers the outcome of Sport Alberta's struggle to obtain public status in the context of Peter Lougheed's corporatist strategy. It is unlikely that Lougheed's government planned to use the same corporatist strategy it enacted to manage the economy of Alberta. Nonetheless, it is clear that by 1977 its corporatist ideology began to influence its management of sport development and of sport interest groups.

This ideology had a significant impact on the role of the Alberta government in sport development, especially with regard to its scope of authority over sport development. To facilitate the points of this position the argument will begin with a brief discussion of why corporatism has become a popular political strategy. Then an assessment will be made of the degree to which corporatism became characteristic of the Alberta government's involvement in sport development.

According to Offe (1985), corporatism emerged as an outcome of the changing relationship between the system of interest representation and public policy making. In this regard he describes two types of political rationality: *output rationality* and *input rationality*. Output rationality focuses on the satisfying of demands under conditions where: the form and activities of interest groups are not regulated, policy-makers do not have much control over the content and intensity of specific demands that are being made or over the number and identity of political collectives, and at best political parties form a reconciling function.

Input rationality emphasizes the channelling of demand inputs. It may emerge if political parties, in the above circumstances, fail to aggregate and reconcile major segments of the electorate, and/or if policy makers find it difficult or impossible to accommodate significant interests due to the lack of sufficient fiscal and institutional resources at their disposal.

In the first case above, policy-makers strive to meet as many of the demands made by interest groups as possible. As a result, "good" policy makers will focus on rationalizing the effectiveness and efficiency of government outputs. In the second case the measure of good policy shifts from effective and efficient outputs to the shaping and channelling of demands so as to make the demands satisfiable. The conditions that support output rationality closely resemble the liberal pluralist model of politics.

The liberal pluralist model can be seen to underlie the philosophy of the Social Credit government that preceded the Conservatives. Its attitude towards sport development, as outlined in Baka's (1978) thesis and the quote on page 54 that compares the styles of these governments, was clearly one of responding to interests in a political system that frowned upon government intervention in the free market system. This argument is further supported by Finkel (1989) who comments:

In fact, the Manning regime, true to its word followed a pay-as-you-go policy and resisted calls for government regulation of the oil and gas industry (other than the regulations which the industry wanted itself), for marketing boards, for rent controls, for government housing construction programs, for subsidies to new industries, for free hospitalization and medical care, for public power, and for complete provincial responsibility for relief (p. 139).

The Progressive Conservative Party's successful displacement of the governing Social Credit Party was, in part, a consequence of the Conservative Party's platform of industrialization through government intervention. The ultimate goal of this platform was to increase the provincial government's bargaining power relative to that of the federal government. Unlike the Social

Credit, Lougheed's Conservative government would take the initiative and "consider itself an entrepreneurial actor in provincial economic development" (Richards and Pratt, 1979, p. 170). Towards these ends the Lougheed government would employ a corporatist ideology that would forge a quasi-corporatist alliance of the interests of government and a rising urban bourgeoisie.

This arriviste bourgeoisie is led by the owners of and managers of the few Alberta-based corporations large enough to compete on a national and international scale—notably such firms such as Alberta Gas Trunk Line, the Mannix-Loram group, ATCO Industries, the Alberta Energy Company—as well as some of the more dynamic oil-related businesses which have their head offices in Calgary. In addition, it includes a large group of well educated upwardly mobile professionals, such as corporate lawyers, economic and financial consultants, engineers, geologists, and other scientists or technical experts providing services of a specialize nature to the petroleum industry and government. A third group, a state-administrative elite, occupies the top bureaucratic posts within the public sector, particularly, though not exclusively, in government departments and boards charged with the tasks of managing the province's resources, negotiating with other governments, investing the huge revenue surpluses of the 1970s and charting future economic directions (Richards and Pratt, 1979, p. 167).

The extent to which this corporatist ideology was being extended to sport becomes evident when one compares the degree of corporatism characteristic of sport delivery before and after the Progressive Conservatives took office. Such a comparison can be made by considering four dimensions of corporatism discussed by Offe (1985). Offe (1985, p. 237) indicates that corporatism increases with the following:

1. *Resource status*: The extent to which the resources of an interest group are supplied by the state.
2. *Representation status*: The extent to which the range of representation is defined through political decision.
3. *Organization status*: The extent to which internal relations between rank-and-file members and executive members of the organization are regulated.

4. *Procedural status:* The extent to which interest organizations are licensed, recognized and invited to assume, together with a specified set of other participants, a role in legislation, the judicial system, policy planning, and implementation, or even are granted the right of self-administration.

Of these four dimensions only the first is characteristic of Sport Alberta which was, until the creation of the Alberta Games Council, the major agency (independent of government) involved with promoting sport and sport development in Alberta. Sport Alberta received funding for some of its activities from both the Social Credit and Progressive Conservative governments. Prior to the rule of the Progressive Conservative Party, Sport Alberta was the singular interest group acting on behalf of the interest of Alberta's amateur sport community. It had no representational status, organizational status, or procedural status as defined by Offe (1985). As noted above, it is possible to interpret the employment of Ron Butlin as an attempt by the provincial government to exert influence at the level of the dimension of representation. However, Butlin's appointment, no matter how coercive it may or may not have been, was not based on any legal statute that gave the government the jurisdiction to appoint representatives. From these facts it can be concluded that Sport Alberta was not, to any degree, an embodiment of a corporatist ideology in the area of sport policy.

Elements of corporatism are characteristic of the Alberta Games Council which displaced Sport Alberta's authority over the Alberta Games. The degree of formal status that can be attributed to each of the dimensions used to define the degree of corporatism was much greater in the Alberta Games Council compared to that of Sport Alberta. Like Sport Alberta, the Alberta Games Council received resources from the state in the form of money. If the degree of resource status is measured in terms of the value of the funding given to an organization, the resource status of the Alberta Games Council was significantly greater than that of Sport Alberta since the former organization received larger sums of money

from the government. The degree of representative status was greater with regard to the Alberta Games Council because an act of legislation legally defined the range of representation on the Alberta Games Council to consist "of not more than 15 persons appointed by the Minister" of Recreation and Parks (*Alberta Games Council Act*). The organization status of the Alberta Games Council was greater since legislation gave the minister the authority to determine who would comprise the three-member management committee (executive members) of the Alberta Games Council. Procedure status was also greater since legislation indicated that the Alberta Games Council could be asked to co-ordinate its work "with the programs, policies, and work of the government and public and private institutions in order to avoid duplication and expense (*Alberta Games Council Act*)."

One consequence of this approach was an increase in the Alberta government's scope of authority over sport development. This is to be expected for, as Offe (1985) indicates:

The attribution of positive political status to, for example, an organization of political refugees, a sports association, or an association of automobilists directly results in an incomplete determination of the organization's behaviour by constituent members (because now the organization has resources to spend that do *not* flow from willingness of members to contribute to a common objective; it has commitments to honour that are the price for political subsidy and hence are irreducible to the membership level); nor can the manifest behaviour be explained by reference to the relative strength of conflicting groups or allies (p. 238).

The new legislation gave the government authority in areas of sport development previously isolated from its jurisdiction. According to the act, it was up to the minister to approve the Alberta Games Council's initiatives in many areas including the appointment of officials and admission of athletes for the Alberta Games, the sports that would form the Alberta Games, the prizes that would be awarded and other matters deemed necessary for carrying out the objectives of the Alberta Games Council. These circumstances were quite different from those that existed prior to the Games or when the Games were being administered by

Sport Alberta. At that time, associations responsible for the delivery of various sports could hope to have some influence over how their sport was administered at the Games through their participation and voting behaviour at general meetings of Sport Alberta. The new legislation meant that this mode of influence was non-existent.

Despite this greater scope of authority, the government's authority was limited to a small area of sport development: the Alberta Games. Areas such as coaching, sport medicine and other aspects of administration and athlete development remained largely detached from government policy.

The Lougheed government's quasi-corporatist approach to sport development also influenced the power that disadvantaged social groups might have over sport development. In the context of the development of oil and other energy industries, Richards and Pratt refer to alliance between politicians, government officials and Alberta's "arriviste" bourgeoisie of corporate lawyers, engineers, scientists and technical experts. These types of individuals comprised the board of directors of the Alberta Games Council. The inaugural Chairman of the Alberta Games Council, Don Skagen, was a close friend of the premier and the chief executive officer of Mohawk Oil, a well-placed Alberta oil company. Other board members were well-placed lawyers and chartered accountants from firms such as Deloitte, Haskins and Sells. Collectively, these individuals were not representative of a cross-section of those individuals who actually participated in sport in Alberta. Being entirely male and mostly upper- and upper-middle class businessmen, their ability to represent the interests of women and other social groups participating in sport is questionable. An alliance between business, government and sport development had been forged in the area of multi-sport games.

Summary

Government interest and intervention in sport development in Alberta increased between the years 1970 and 1977. This increase was manifest in the implementation of a government-sponsored central administrative centre for provincial sport associations and the development of the Alberta Games. Sport Alberta, an independent association of sport organizations, endeavoured to deliver these programs with uncircumscribed financial aid from the government.

A conflict between key individuals in Sport Alberta combined with the corporatist ideology of the newly formed Progressive Conservative government induced the government to become more directly involved in sport development. This was accomplished through legislation that created the Alberta Games Council. The legislation severed Sport Alberta from its role in a very visible and popular aspect of sport development, replacing it with an organization which, by law, would be more sympathetic to government interests. This new approach to sport development also revealed a government predilection to place men from Alberta's upper middle class and business elite in positions on the Alberta Games Council's board of directors. Through these positions these men would have some direct influence over sport development in Alberta through the Alberta Games.

Sport Alberta had lost its leadership role in the Alberta Games and the provincial centre for sport administration and therefore could no longer use these roles as evidence of its value to the sports community. The provincial sport governing bodies that comprised Sport Alberta's membership began to question the value of their membership and soon the role of all organizations involved in sport delivery came under scrutiny. For the next seven years, considerable public and private discussion focused on how to improve the co-ordination of sport delivery in Alberta.

Chapter Five

Sport Interests and the Struggle for Public Status, Part Two: The Decline of Sport Alberta and the Rise of Corporatist Sport Policy

Re-evaluation of Sport Development in Alberta

By the late 1970s Sport Alberta was struggling more than ever to maintain its legitimacy. Nonetheless, the organization still played a leadership role in the sport community through its involvement with the organization of Intersport. Intersport IV, held in June of 1979, examined overlaps and ambiguity among and between the roles played by the various organizations involved in Alberta's sport delivery system. The discussion at this conference focused on building a foundation from which to devise a plan or organizational structure for sport development in Alberta: "At the end of the conference, there was a general agreement that a non-partisan committee be established to examine the need for an improved coordination of sport in Alberta" (Ad Hoc Committee on Amateur Sport, p. 3).

This particular committee was comprised of five members: Barry Mitchelson (chairperson), Doreen Ryan, Gerald Glassford, Don Moore, and Ken Munro. Between April and May 1980¹⁵ the Ad Hoc Committee published its final report entitled *Sport in Alberta: Let's Work Together*. The report considered the strengths and weaknesses of four alternatives for sport co-ordination in Alberta. "Alternative 1" (dubbed "Status Quo") recommended that the provincial government, Sport Alberta and the Alberta Games Council retain their existing functions and that each of their roles be clarified in order to reduce conflicts. "Alternative 2" recommended that a two-player system comprised of the provincial government and a merger of Sport Alberta and the Alberta Games Council be

¹⁵ The exact date of publication is difficult to pin down. The report itself is dated May 1980; however, comments made in the legislature and recorded in *Alberta Hansard*, 1980 p. 656 suggest it was published in April.

implemented. "Alternative 3" recommended that there be total provincial government co-ordination of sport development. "Alternative 4" recommended that a partnership of public and private sectors should be developed and embodied in a single provincial sport co-ordinating agency called the Alberta Sport Federation.

The committee supported the creation of the Alberta Sport Federation presented in "Alternative 4." This new agency would assume all the functions carried out by Sport Alberta and the Alberta Games Council as well as many of the objectives which at the time were under the jurisdiction of the government's Department of Recreation and Parks. The committee report suggested the following membership policy:

It is recommended that:

Membership in the Alberta Sport Federation be open to:

- Provincial single sport governing bodies.
- Multi-sport agencies.
- Sport related agencies,
- and
- Representatives from governments appointed to the Board of Directors.
- Representatives from the public appointed to the Board of Directors (Ad Hoc Committee on Amateur Sport, 1980, p. 19).

The committee's report also recommended that the board of directors be composed of 23 representatives. Twelve positions would be elected by provincial sport organizations. Seven positions would be filled by appointments from the provincial government. The remaining three would be appointed from the public at large by the board itself. This structure would ensure that Alberta sport associations would continue to play a role in guiding the development of sport and recreation within the province. The government would also be able to give some direction in this system of checks and balances (Ad Hoc Committee on Amateur Sport, 1980, p. 10-21).

As sports groups around the province were discussing these recommendations, the report was also receiving attention in the provincial

legislature. On April 29, MLA Sindlinger asked the minister of Alberta Recreation and Parks to make some comments on the report and on his department's position with regard to the report (*Alberta Hansard*, 1980: 656). Mr. Trynchy's response was noncommittal:

I've looked once at the Sport Alberta report which he [Mr. Sindlinger] had. It's being presented to a conference on May 2, 3, and 4, I believe. That is not the final report; it's a report for discussion. I do not want to comment on whether I accept it. I think the conference will discuss that and come back to us with a final report. I hope that I and other people involved will take a look at it and see where we go from there (*Alberta Hansard*, 1980, p. 660).

As the discussion pertaining to Mr. Trynchy's portfolio continued, a MLA, Mr. R. Clark, asked a question about Mr. Trynchy's commitment to sport for all in Alberta versus an emphasis on Alberta's representation at international games. In response to this issue, Mr. Trynchy said the following:

I totally agree we should have lifetime sport. I guess that a lifetime sport to me is not a lifetime sport to the Chairman and not a lifetime sport to somebody else, but I understand what he is getting at. . . . But I totally agree that sports should be for all, and that's the kind of programs I try to initiate.

The Sport Alberta report: the member says I have no strong feelings. I want to correct that: I have some pretty strong feelings. As a matter of fact they're pretty darn strong. I want to see that report when it's finished, and I want to take that report and do with it what's best for Albertans, not for myself, not for the department, and not for the sports people out there or anybody else. It has to involve everybody and that's the type of program I'm going to initiate, with the help of my colleagues of course (*Alberta Hansard*, 1980, p. 663).

The recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee were reviewed at the meeting of Intersport V during May 1980. The report was endorsed in principle by those in attendance. This endorsement was followed by a resolution for the establishment of a task force to be named the "Advisory Committee on Sport Organization and Development in Alberta." The mission of this task force was to investigate key sport issues and develop an implementation strategy for the proposed Alberta Sport Federation. Headed by Dr. Maury Van Vliet, the task

force was to present its findings at Intersport VI. At the same time as this report was being prepared, Peter Trynchy was asked to develop a statement that would spell out the role and priorities of the provincial government in sport development in Alberta.

The implementation strategy proposed in the report of Dr. Van Vliet's "Advisory Committee on Sport Organization and Development in Alberta" had little in common with the Ad Hoc Committee's recommendations. The name Alberta Sports Federation remained intact, so did the idea that "the functions of certain organizations such as Sport Alberta and the Alberta Games Council would be absorbed by the corporation." The similarity between the organization proposed by the Ad Hoc Committee and the one proposed by the task force ended here. The task force proposed a very different organization from that originally proposed by the Ad Hoc Committee. The Alberta Sport Federation was to be a Crown corporation with a board of directors comprised of 11 members appointed by the minister. It was also suggested that "a master plan for sport development in Alberta should be developed by the government in cooperation with the Crown corporation" (Advisory Committee on Sport Organization and Development in Alberta, 1980, p. 5).

The advisory committee's report sparked considerable discussion and concern about the future of sport development in Alberta. Civil servants and members of the sport community were concerned about the recommendations of the advisory committee. Neither group was completely convinced that the creation of a Crown corporation would properly serve the interests of sport development in Alberta. They believed a different approach should be taken, an approach that maintained a role for Sport Alberta.

The Reaction of Civil Servants: Caution

Both the 1980 Ad Hoc Committee and the 1981 Intersport Task Force Committee reports raised concerns among civil servants and the sport community as represented by Sport Alberta. Examples of these concerns were discovered in

three pieces of correspondence written by civil servants. The first piece of correspondence is a letter written by Lynn Passey, a Consultant of the Community Recreation Services Branch of Alberta Recreation and Parks and sent to Darwin Park the branch's Section Head. In this letter, Passey took issue with the Ad Hoc Committee's report. Passey's first concern was that "the methodology of this study [was] not statistically sound." Passey also emphasized the need to fully explore the implications of the implementation of "Alternative 4" contained in the Ad Hoc Committee report. Passey was particularly concerned about the structure that was being proposed for the board of directors: "Can we assume that a 23 person Board and an Executive Committee would be more efficient and less bureaucratic than what currently exists?" The letter contains a paragraph which seems to express a fear that Alberta Recreation and Parks would be left without a role to play in sport development in Alberta if this alternative was implemented:

There are no benefits in Alberta Recreation and Parks controlling the entire development of Sport in the province. However, what are the implications of shedding our current controls [sic] and responsibilities and handing them over to a newly developed Sport Federation? Would a Crown Corporation of the stature proposed in the report really be able to accomplish what it sets out to do? Two organizations working cooperatively may actually be able to accomplish the proposed duties outlined in the report and more (L. Passey, personal communication April 15, 1980).

A second piece of correspondence that reveals some of the concerns held by civil servants is a letter signed by Ed Wilson, assistant Director of Central Recreation Field Services. Wilson's letter is addressed to Jack Monaghan, Director of Recreation Field Services. In this letter Wilson expresses concern about the recommendations to increase the share of lottery funds available to the Alberta Sport Federation, the recommendation to dissolve Sport Alberta and the Alberta Games Council, and the recommendation to establish local and regional sport federations to complement and supplement the functions of the Alberta Sport Federation.

The third and final example of correspondence which raised concern about proposed changes is the most interesting of all. This correspondence was a confidential memorandum sent from Jack Monaghan to Deputy Minister T. A. Drinkwater in March 1981. In the memo, Monaghan focuses on Dr. Van Vliet's draft of the "Minister's Executive Summary." In the seven pages of the memo, Monaghan also draws attention to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee. In reference to recommendations of the Van Vliet Task Force, Monaghan makes the following points:

1. Why the urgency in Crown Corporation establishment? . . .
2. What are the current functions of Sport Alberta? Was not Sport Alberta in its early development responsible for attempting to do what is being recommended in recommendations 1 - 3 of the Ad Hoc report? **If this is the case what caused Sport Alberta to fail? Has it failed or is it a matter of time, encouragement, government direction etc.? [emphasis added]**
3. This statement is dictatorial and possibly politable [*sic*] to the Government philosophically. Contradicts the concept of self-determination by imposing arbitrary control and mandatory membership (Monaghan, personal communication March 11, 1981)

The letter continues, raising ten more concerns about the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Sport Development.

The data that were examined gave no indication as to whether or not these concerns were addressed formally or informally. The archival sources which contained the letters described above did not contain any letters or memorandums indicative of the response or actions, if any, that may have been taken in responses to these three letters. Furthermore, although some of the people interviewed for this study mentioned that civil servants were concerned about the impact of the proposed federation, no one provided details that were relevant to these letters. This was not true, however, with regard to the reaction of Sport Alberta and the sports community.

The Reaction of Sport Alberta and the Sports Community: Rejection

Dick White, president of Sport Alberta, was also busy writing letters to government officials. In a letter to Peter Trynchy, White expressed his dismay that the government had been studying the recommendations of the task force prior to their ratification by the Alberta sports community. White wrote:

We find it totally unacceptable that the mandate of Alberta's sporting community can be ignored and would expect you to disregard any representation made by this Task Force without the sanctioning of their findings by those who were responsible for their establishment (D. White, personal communication March 26, 1981).

Mr. Trynchy responded to White's letter on April 23, indicating:

once having reviewed the Committee's recommendations, should I feel that I could support them and take them forward to my colleagues for decision, I will take the necessary action to secure the sport community's input and reaction to the recommendations before any decisions are ratified (P. Trynchy, personal communication April 23, 1981).

On September 12, 1981, representatives of 38 sport governing bodies met in Red Deer to discuss the ramifications of "Minister's Draft Number Three: May 28, 1981." The representatives raised concern that the document had been circulated to the province's Recreation and Parks Department. The representatives also observed that "recent 'Position on Policy Papers' solicited by the Recreation & Parks Department to assist them in establishing department policies strongly opposed the Crown Corporation: with 20 of 21 contributors voicing their opposition to this concept" (Sport Alberta, minutes September 26, 1981, p. 3). Nonetheless, the new Deputy Minister for Alberta Recreation and Parks, Barry Mitchelson, was on the record as being very much in favour of the Crown corporation.

The minutes of the meeting indicate the chairman emphasized that it was time for sports groups to take a stand on this issue. Each organization was asked to carefully examine and weigh the proposals outlined by the Intersport task force and then, following some discussion among their members, come to a definite conclusion as to whether or not they would support the creation of a Crown

corporation to guide sport development in Alberta. By the end of the meeting, those present made a strong statement of their apprehension regarding the creation of a Crown corporation as proposed in the "Minister's Draft Three."

Sport Alberta's discontent with the minister's response to its previous concerns and his present actions regarding the Task Force report were expressed in a letter dated September 24, 1981 sent from Mr. White to the minister. The letter noted that the 38 sports governing bodies and sport-related organizations had met to discuss the 'ramifications' of the task force report and that as a result of a preliminary review of this document, the following resolution was presented and unanimously carried:

'That this meeting, by letter, express concern to the Hon. P. Trynchy that a Crown Corporation may not be the best vehicle to promote amateur sport co-ordination in Alberta, and request time to the end of October, 1981, to allow amateur sport organizations and other interested bodies to react to the proposal and that Sport Alberta be requested to convene a meeting before November 15th to explore the consequences of the proposal and prepare constructive alternatives' (D. White, personal correspondence September 24, 1981, p. 1).

Sport Alberta's concern and disapproval of the way the minister had been handling the affair is restated in the conclusion of White's letter. The tone used by Mr. White to express these feelings is indicative of a growing suspicion:

Unfortunately the committee chose to ignore its obligation to the sporting community to report back to them prior to making a submission to the Minister. It appears an even more serious breach of trust may have occurred when someone on the committee chose to designate Minister's Draft Number Three as the Committee's Final Draft and to submit the same to the Minister without it ever being reviewed by the committee as a whole . . . (p. 2).

The minister responded to Mr. White's letter promptly, suggesting that Minister's Draft Three was almost identical to Minister's Draft Two which had been ratified by the committee. He went on to state that it was his intention to have an Intersport Conference early in the next year. It is interesting to note that, while this letter gave the impression that the minister had not yet made up his

mind as to whether or not he would support the proposal to create a Crown corporation, an earlier draft of the letter suggests that he believed this was the best alternative.

This earlier draft is interesting because several people who were interviewed for this study suggested that it was their belief that by this time the minister and the deputy minister were both committed to the proposal and were committed to eliminating Sport Alberta. An earlier draft of the letter that was sent to Mr. White explicitly expressed the minister's support for the Crown corporation. The sentence quoted below is struck out and the word "omit" appears next to it in the right margin: "After reviewing the information provided to me and considering the current economic climate, it seems that a Crown Corporation may be the best alternative to promote amateur sport co-ordination and development in Alberta."

Further communication between Mr. White and Mr. Trynchy occurred in early November of 1981. Mr. White sent a response to Mr. Trynchy's October 19 letter. The response includes an invitation for Mr. Trynchy or one of his representatives to attend a meeting of provincial sport governing bodies on November 7, 1981. Mr. Trynchy replied that he was unable to attend and would send Jack Monaghan as his representative.

By this time Sport Alberta had completed a position paper outlining its view of the proposed Alberta Sport Federation as summarized in the "Advisory Committee on Sport Development." The thrust of Sport Alberta's (1981) position paper is summarized in the following quotations:

It is our expressed concern that a crown corporation is not the best tool for the administration and management of sport. A crown corporation means government control, with more bureaucratic processes and red tape than already exist (p. 3).

Sport Alberta, as developed, is already the tool for provincial sports management. It would be far more economical to expand an already existing tool, than to rebuild from the beginning (p. 4).

It is therefore our recommendation that Sport Alberta continue to be the Alberta Sports Federation, and that necessary constitutional changes be formulated and enacted in order to strengthen relations with the Alberta Department of Recreation and Parks (p. 4).

Put in very succinct terms, the position paper was asking government to stick by Sport Alberta as it was originally conceived under the rule of the Social Credit government. Apart from the recommendation to create a Crown corporation, the paper applauded the initiatives contained in the task force report. It was felt that all these initiatives could be cultivated just as effectively under the auspices of Sport Alberta as they could be under the proposed Crown corporation. In hindsight, the document represented Sport Alberta's final gasp for breath before its demise.

The archival material collected for this study contains a letter dated November 2, 1981 and signed by Dr. M. L. Van Vliet, Chairman of the Advisory Committee. The letter appears to be at the very least an indirect response to the concerns raised by Sport Alberta's position paper. The letter begins by drawing attention to the upcoming Intersport VI conference where the task force recommendations were to be reviewed. The focus of the letter then changes to "a few points" Van Vliet feels "must be emphasized to counteract some of the rather distorted views and incorrect statements which appear to be circulating with no reference to actual facts." Van Vliet's points of clarification included a statement that loss of autonomy for sports associations would not be a consequence of the task force recommendations—"The idea is too preposterous to deserve a comment." Throughout the letter, the word "recommendations" is emphasized (i.e. underlined) wherever it appears and Van Vliet repeatedly tries to discount concerns regarding the potential high cost of a Crown corporation, the potential for autocracy and the fact that the report is anything more than a set of recommendations.

Despite Van Vliet's letter, vocal opposition to the Crown corporation continued and some of that opposition was kindled by concern for the future of

Sport Alberta. A press release written by Lynda Allan and dated February 2, 1982 proclaims "AMATEUR SPORT IN ALBERTA IS REARING ITS HEAD IN RESPONSE TO WHAT THEY CONSIDER GROSSLY INADEQUATE FUNDING BY THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT" (p. 1). Allan expressed outrage at an announcement that "THEY (Sport Alberta) MAY NOT BE ELIGIBLE FOR ANY PROFILE¹⁶ DOLLARS AT ALL THIS YEAR" (p.2).

The press release was followed by a letter to the minister. The letter appears to be a rejoinder to a letter from the minister to Lynda Allan. Allan mentions that she attended an information meeting for Intersport VI the evening prior to writing her letter. In her letter, Allan re-emphasizes her concern for Sport Alberta's future given its financial difficulties. She also raises questions about the future of grassroots sport development and the impact of a centralized sport delivery system. Why, asks Allan, doesn't the government "just make Sport Alberta the recipient of the increased funding promised in the policy and let a ten year operation carry on as it stands today?" (L. Allan, personal correspondence November 11, 1982, p. 2).

On February 17, 1982; Sport Alberta's board of directors met and discussed Sport Alberta's future and the role it played with Intersport. The minutes of that meeting indicate that someone suggested "that a committee be formed to prepare a statement from the Board of Directors to the membership, expressing our [the board's] position and suggestions" (Sport Alberta, minutes February 17, 1982, p. 1). The suggestion was acted upon and the following motion was passed:

This board supports in principle the concept of an umbrella sport organization, but with approximately 50 per cent representatives from the Sport Governing Body or allied groups on the Board, and strongly recommends this position be supported by our member organizations (p. 2).

¹⁶ "Profile" refers to the provincial government's program for granting funding to amateur sports groups.

By March 8, 1982, Sport Alberta had finished formulating its official position on the proposed sport development policy. The position contained three recommendations which Sport Alberta believed would improve the Alberta government's "Proposed Sport Development Policy." The position paper read as follows:

Sport Alberta supports the Proposed Sport Development Policy. However, we recommend three major areas which, if amended, would improve the proposal.

RECOMMENDATION #1

Financing is a prime concern. Fundamental to the success of the policy is the concept that the provincial government accept the responsibility of providing funds to sports governing bodies to cover all basic administration costs. . . .

RECOMMENDATION #2

That the Board of Directors of the "Alberta Sport Council/Federation" be made up as follows:

- (a) 50% appointed by the Minister
- (b) 50% selected at an annual forum of the Alberta Sport community in one of the following ways:
 - (i) direct election
 - (ii) selection of twice as many names as there are Board openings to present to the Minister. The Minister would then appoint the Board from the list.

RECOMMENDATION #3

There must be more than one administration centre to properly serve regions of the province. It is logical that one major operation would exist with smaller satellite offices in several regions of the province (p .1).

Intersport VI finally took place during March 13-14, 1982. Delegates present addressed the report of the task force, a proposed sport development policy, and proposed philosophy and objectives related to sport for Alberta Recreation and Parks. Dr. Van Vliet presented the report of the task force. Mr. Trynchy was also present and accompanied by his senior staff. As expected, the task force recommended that a Crown corporation be created. The corporation would be called the Alberta Sport Council instead of the Alberta Sport

Federation as previously proposed. The Alberta Sport Council would be comprised of a 16 member board of directors that was to be appointed by the minister from a list of nominees from around the province. Lottery dollars would be made available to the Alberta Sport Council for distribution to provincial sports associations in order to assist sport development in Alberta.

Lobbying for Lottery Loot

Numerous people interviewed for this study indicated that many of the people present at Intersport VI spoke against the idea of a Crown corporation as outlined by the Task Force. Although the Alberta Sport Council was deemed by government representatives to be arm's length from the government, many individuals questioned the validity of this claim, especially since the board of directors was to be appointed by the minister. It was indicated by at least two individuals that the minister promised he would make his appointments based upon a fifty-fifty split. That is to say, he would appoint eight of the board members from a slate elected by representatives of the provincial sports associations. The discussion continued covering a wide range of issues and a number of other recommendations were put forward. Despite what some individuals reported to be considerable opposition, at the conclusion of the conference the minister stated it was obvious that everyone at the meeting was overwhelmingly in support of the Alberta Sport Council and the proposed sport policy and he would go forward with its implementation.

Written documentation of the events that occurred in the period between Intersport VI and the approval of the legislation that established the Alberta Sport Council is limited. Several individuals reported that during this time period Mr. Trynchy encouraged members of the sport community to lobby vigorously in order to bring about a change in the percentage of lottery funds that were available to sports groups. For example, Dr. Glassford recalled:

At that same time, or near that same time, Peter Trynchy charged a group of us [leaders in the sports community] with the responsibility of doing our

homework with the decision-makers. He said that if you really do want to see more money flow into sport you've got to talk with the members of the legislative assembly. Because they will make the decisions about the redistribution of those lottery dollars. Which up to this time [was]: 35% to Northlands; 35% to the Calgary Stampede Association; and then the other 30% was divided with culture, recreation and sport, and so forth. So we were only getting a small portion of all the lottery dollars. Yet, if you were to have gone back and looked at the advertisements re the lottery at that time, the image was the money was largely going into sport. That is what people were thinking, but it wasn't what was happening.

Further evidence of a campaign to get MLAs to support a redistribution of lottery profits is contained in a letter written by Dr. Mike Apps, president of the Alberta Soaring Association, to his MLA:

I am writing this letter to you to ask for support in upcoming substantial changes to the manner in which the government of Alberta will aid amateur sport in the province (M. Apps, personal correspondence April 29, 1982, p. 1).

Apps described some of the key items agreed to at Intersport VI and noted that a number of additional recommendations were tabled for the minister's consideration:

One major change recommended was that

fifty percent of the Board of Directors of the proposed Crown corporation be selected from persons nominated from the Sport Governing bodies themselves

in order that these associations have a direct input to the management of the corporation. This concept was accepted by Mr. Trynchy although the mechanism by which this will be accomplished must yet be devised.

In order to adequately fund this new corporation which would be overseeing lottery disbursements to sport, there was very strong feeling that current division of these lottery funds is grossly inequitable. The Calgary and Edmonton Exhibition Boards now siphon off sixty percent of the total monies generated which is now a considerable sum.

Even a relatively small shift in the apportioning of the lottery funds would result in a very large percentage change in the monies available to tens of thousands of Albertans participating directly in sports and recreational activities. Therefore, some reapportioning of the lottery income would very significantly help to place the proposed Alberta Sports Council on a solid financial footing (p. 2).

The letter continues and Apps personally urges his MLA to support the efforts of Mr. Trynchy.

Mr. Trynchy would be successful in his effort to glean support for the new sport policy and more lottery dollars. A government press release dated March 22, 1984 announced that the method of distributing provincial lottery revenue had been revised: "Based on the 32.5% of lottery profits assigned to sport and recreation, the Alberta Sport Council will receive 66% and the Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation will receive the remaining 34%."

One individual interviewed for this study offered the following explanation for the success of the campaign to redistribute profits from the Western Lottery Corporation:

Peter Trynchy did the work with the caucus. He talked to these people behind the doors and so forth and he was very good. Without Peter Trynchy, I am not sure that we would have got the act changed the way it was so that now sport/recreation got the larger portion of dollars. For our part, a whole group of us started phone calls and we phoned everybody we knew. We had them talk with their members of the legislative assembly; we talked with the members of the legislative assembly ourselves and explained how important it was to give sport a firmer base, and the funding portion was an essential component. With Peter's help that is the way it evolved. But without Peter Trynchy, I don't think we would have got it.

In my mind, he was absolutely central. He knew how to work the system; he knew how to create the change and maybe he had lots of favours that he could now call in because he supported, you know how governments work: I'll support you on this but something I may need your help, sort of thing. And he called in a lot of the cards that he had out and, with his ability to talk with people who were on caucus and who were on the Treasury Board and who were major decision-making groups of the government and our ability to get to the members of the legislature, they then said, 'hey, we've got all these phone calls. Obviously people are concerned about the monies that go in to support recreation and sport lottery. Not that it is great for us; those are our people we supported.' So It went through with no difficulty at all.

Two other interviewees indicated that Trynchy's ability to get the legislation through easily was also due to the strategy he employed. They noted that Trynchy's position was successful because he was able to point to Intersport

and other public meetings as examples of public input. A senior civil servant indicated that:

He [Trynchy] was able to go forward and say, 'Now I am here with a proposal that was brought to me from the sport community.' And you know there is a lot of legislation that is turned down. There is a lot of legislation that is reacted against. There are a lot of periods where funding decisions are not taken.

Similarly, Gary Tomick, the Ad Hoc Committee's administrative co-ordinator, commented:

Intersport was in place and the Alberta amateur sport community had a medium to get together and discuss these things. The fact that those things were in place contributed to the overall process, the overall undertaking and the overall acceptance. I think Intersport impacted on the acceptance of it [the redistribution of lottery money]. The other thing definitely is that none of this would have happened without the approval and the support and the workings of the minister in taking it through to Cabinet, and legislation had to be passed and acts had to be passed to formulate the Alberta Sport Council, and that type of thing.

Bill 21, *Alberta Games Council Amendment Act*, was read for the first time on March 14, 1983. It passed through third reading and received royal assent on June 6, 1983, to be effective April 1, 1984. During its journey through the legislature there was little resistance to or discussion of this bill which created the Alberta Sport Council. During the second reading of the bill, Mr. Trynchy remarked:

We want to amend the legislation so we can involve a number of sporting organizations. We will be asking for nominations from sporting organizations from across the province. They will submit their nominations to the minister, from which the minister will appoint eight members. Eight members will be picked at large from other nominations, to give us a board of some 16 members. This will provide an expansion of their functions. It will involve a great number of volunteers both on the board and in its functions on a day-to-day basis (*Alberta Hansard*, 1983, p. 341)

This method of board selection as outlined in Mr. Trynchy's comments failed to live up to the recommendation made by the people present at Intersport VI. The *Alberta Sport Council Act* section two reads as follows regarding board selection:

(1.1)The Minister shall designate corporations, educational institutions and organizations involved in sport from which he shall accept nominations for appointments to the Council.

(1.2)From the nominations received by the Minister under subsection (1.1), he may appoint at least 8 persons to the Council.

The other recommendations made by Sport Alberta and those mentioned in the letter of Mike Apps were also absent from the legislation.

Sport Policy Implementation and the Demise of Sport Alberta.

The passage of Bill 21 and the introduction of the Alberta government's official policy on sport development resulted in a realignment of the roles of the institutions involved in managing Alberta's sport development. The government's new policy outlined ten specific goals for sport development. These goals were itemized in the Alberta government's *Sport Development Policy* (pp. 9-11) and can be summarized as follows:

1. To promote health, fitness and a sense of community among Albertans through participation in sport.
2. To encourage a wide, diverse, stable financial base for sport development.
3. To improve the accessibility to sport opportunities for more Albertans for a broader range of activities; to make the practice of sport accessible to all Albertans under the best possible conditions.
4. To encourage greater personal achievements in sport.
5. To move towards diversity of opportunities and to improve the overall quality of sport participation throughout Alberta.
6. To create the environment for a comprehensive and well-developed base of technical knowledge and an improved understanding about the act of sport participation.
7. To have the sport delivery system evolve toward a mature partnership of actors.

8. To strengthen, co-ordinate and maintain an effective sport system in Alberta.
9. To foster a greater commitment to planning throughout the sport system in Alberta.
10. To unify the efforts of the sport community and facilitate the development of a set of directions for sport in Alberta.

In addition to these ten goals, the policy lists eight strategic priorities:

1. To create a stable and diverse financial base for sport by providing operational funds and by generating revenues from the private sector and lotteries.
2. To provide a wider and more advanced base of technical expertise for sport in Alberta.
3. To provide increased opportunities for Albertans to participate in sport.
4. To increase the number of Albertans who are performing at provincial, national and international standards.
5. To improve the communication and co-ordination among sport organizations in Alberta.
6. To improve the organizational development of provincial sports associations.
7. To promote and assist in the effective management and hosting of major games and events.
8. To encourage the maximum use and efficient operation of existing facilities.

Within the framework provided by these goals and priorities, the policy delineates the role to be played by the Alberta Sport Council and by the Recreation Development Division of Alberta Recreation and Parks. The first five strategic priorities were to be addressed by means of the Alberta Sport Council. The

remaining three, priorities six through eight, would be addressed through the Recreation Development Division.

Sport Alberta was left completely out of the picture. Reflecting back on the situation that existed just prior to the 1983 policy, a member of the Ad Hoc Committee commented:

I think that when we finished there was a reasonably good sense that we were moving in the right direction. We still had the problem of the relationship between Alberta Sport[s groups] and the Alberta Sport Council, Sport Alberta and the Alberta Sport Council and government. There was a clearer linkage between government, Alberta Recreation and Parks and the Alberta Sport Council than there was with respect to the role relationship of Sport Alberta and that has haunted us since then.

The most troublesome aspect of the policy was that the new roles given to these government agencies impinged upon the role that Sport Alberta had been struggling to perform as the collective voice for amateur sports groups in Alberta:

They [the Recreation Development Division] assumed the roles of Sport Alberta. In doing that, the department/division took over all of the administrative support roles that Sport Alberta was doing through the Percy Page Centre and that sort of thing and the Sport Council took the rest. They took a number of programs and grant programs that Sport Alberta was actively involved in. So it was by the time that October, November rolled around of 1984, and I had been into the job for 5-6 months, that it became evident that there was no support in the bureaucracy, and Mitchelson was the DM then, and Peter Trynchy was the minister. There was no support within the government to allow Sport Alberta to maintain any kind of a mandate or role within sport in the province.

Sport Alberta's strained relationship with government continued. The fight against the creation of the Alberta Sport Council had been lost. Now Sport Alberta dug its heels in and made another "final" attempt to secure a role for itself in sport delivery in Alberta.

The two-year period between 1984 and 1986 was fraught with tension in Sport Alberta's relationship with the government's sport delivery institutions. Sport Alberta was dealing with other problems that also threatened its survival. The commitment of its members associations was weakening, its financial

situation was weak, and personal friction between certain board members and civil servants obstructed pleas for government assistance. Former Executive Director Paul Conrad reported that:

When you looked at the membership of Sport Alberta, when you go back into the records and look back to 1983 and 1984, Sport Alberta had 109 provincial sport associations that were paid-up members, that took that \$100.00, dropped it down and said, 'We want to be members of Sport Alberta.' But when it came time to put up or shut up and came time to come out to special meetings to determine the future, etc, etc. we would get 15-20 members.

I think the most members that I can ever recall coming out to a general meetings was about 53-54 and that would have been in 1985 that it had happened. So when you looked at it at that point of view [sic] provincial sport associations were looking pretty apathetic—they didn't give a shit as to what was going to happen. Sport Alberta had nothing to offer in terms of what Sport Alberta could do to develop athletes, coaches and officials.

Sport Alberta's internal problems and the looming changes to sport delivery left it with few alternatives. However, Conrad was persistent:

I refused to go away quietly. I knew that Sport Alberta's future was extremely limited and that come 1987-88 Sport Alberta would have gone the way of the dodo bird. It would have just become extinct, gone away quietly. I felt that there needed to be a resolution: it had to be open, it had to be above-board and people had to understand what was going on. Not anything confrontive and we didn't get into any confrontation situations, but what we did do was we presented this to the membership—this is what has happened. You have developed the sport development strategy that identified roles for the department, Sport Council and didn't identify anything for Sport Alberta. Yet the implementation strategy from the Alberta Sport Council that says that is what we are going to do as a Sport Council and everything that was in the Sport Council implementation strategy was a duplicate to Sport Alberta in every area but administrative support because this was a department responsibility.

In recalling the period 1983 through 1986, Conrad emphasized that a large amount of negotiation between Sport Alberta, Alberta Sport Council and Alberta Recreation and Parks was taking place. Much of the negotiation focused on sustaining Sport Alberta's status as an influential component of the sport delivery

system in Alberta. The government, however, had become unsympathetic as far as Sport Alberta was concerned. This point is emphasized in the comments made by a former member of Sport Alberta:

You see the blinders were on by this time and they couldn't see that there was an executive director, Paul Conrad, and a board of directors that was evolving that were positively looking toward or forward to that relationship that we met with roadblocks by Dwight Ganske and Stan Fisher plus Julian Nowicki and to an extent Barry Mitchelson. Those were the roadblocks: they had already decided that Sport Alberta was not going to be allowed to survive, never mind develop. We went through this period of negotiation and meeting and it was very evident that they had the organization by the short hairs by this time. We had no area to negotiate with them; we were negotiating from no string. We were at their mercy and they knew it. They were being very overt in the way they related to us as a result of following that string.

Conrad and Sport Alberta's president, Dick White, believed Sport Alberta could make a valuable contribution to sport delivery as an independent watchdog advocacy group. Both Conrad and the Sport Alberta board of directors made an effort to discuss the delineation of a new role for Sport Alberta and a new relationship with the two government institutions responsible for sport development. Conrad recalled:

We presented this scenario and we met with the senior management staff of Alberta Recreation and Parks and the Sport Council looking to eke out some kind of a niche or role that Sport Alberta could play. Every time the advocacy role came up, it was very negative, negative perception on the part of the department and became very confrontational. As far as they were concerned they didn't want an advocate for amateur sport in Alberta for what in our view was very obvious reasons. They couldn't get beyond that mindset of negativism, confrontation/conflict and again if they had have opened their minds and looked at that situation from an unbiased and objective point of view, there were ample opportunities for Sport Alberta to play out.

As early as July 30, 1984 Paul Conrad had taken steps towards meeting with the Alberta Sport Council to "delineate roles and responsibilities within the sports community as outlined in the Sports Councils [sic] implementation strategy" (P. Conrad, personal correspondence July 30, 1984). However, he and others noted

that it was difficult to convince government officials to become involved in these meetings. After some discussion had taken place between Sport Alberta, Alberta Sport Council and Alberta Recreation and Parks, the Sport Alberta board of directors and its executive director met with the general membership, Conrad noted:

We went back to the membership in January 1986 and we presented this to them. What we said to them was that these two organizations, the burgeoning bureaucracy of Alberta Recreation and Parks and the Department, did a restructuring. . . . We went back to the membership and we said that there were tremendous resources that were coming into amateur sport right now. Don't change the administrative and development system that is in place. You have other crossroads and you have a choice. The choice is that you work within the structures that are in place to maximize the benefit to amateur sport or you can try to change those structures. And in our view, Sport Alberta's view, it is fruitless to try to change that structure, so give us the mandate to go back and formally transfer our programs and services to the department and to the Sport Council. This was the board of directors talking to the membership. This is the meeting that we had. We had about 50% of our members out to this one particular meeting. . . . We got the approval from members to go forward with our plan for transfer and by this time our access to government officials was being restricted.

Dick White resigned shortly after the membership approved the transfer. White's suspicion of government and his opposition to the Alberta Sport Council was well known. His resignation was not surprising. Several individuals suggested that White and a few other board members "were in major conflict with some of the key stakeholders in the province." These stakeholders included several civil servants such as the deputy minister. The tension surrounding the relationship between the government and Sport Alberta was reported to have made government officials reluctant to meet with representatives of Sport Alberta to discuss a transfer of power. The following remarks made by an individual who was a member of the Sport Alberta board of directors conveys a sense of the situation during that time:

He [Dick White] always felt it was government against Sport Alberta. Now he may have had good reason to say this. I never felt that we were agin

them. I never thought we were co-operating very much though. I had a tough time ever seeing the minister or the deputy or anything when we had a problem or needed help. It was tough to get in the office. They don't really know the problems and maybe Dick sensed this, that the government wasn't working with us.

Another member of Sport Alberta described the situation this way:

We wanted to meet with the government and the Sport Council to lay our plan on the table and say, 'This is what we want to do: we want to transfer all of our programs, services and we don't want to wipe Sport Alberta off of the books, but we want to provide our programs to an organization that has the resources, financial and human, to develop them to benefit amateur sport in general.' Stan Fisher would not meet with us; Julian Nowicki would not meet with us; Max Gibb would not meet with us; the minister and the board of directors of Sport Council wouldn't touch us So we got down to the level of Noni Heine and Jack Monaghan. Noni Heine at that time was the provincial association development section head and Jack Monaghan was and still is the technical manager. I went in to a meeting with those three on the 9th floor Standard Life Centre back in February 1986 and I laid it on the table for them and their reaction was one of shock that we were actually going to do this. And then that old mind-set came back that it was a setup, that we were acting and going to embarrass them. It was never verbalized, but the non-verbal reaction to the presentation was very evident that they were looking for an ulterior motive and they looked for the ulterior motive for four months before we got into the final transfer. Once they recognized the significance of the steps that Sport Alberta was taking, we then met with Julian Nowicki, Max Gibb, etc., etc. and we attempted to not only look after the program needs of Sport Alberta, but also some of the management and support staff needs.

A letter from Paul Conrad to the Sport Alberta board of directors indicates that by August 1986 the plan for transfer was nearing completion. All programs were to be completely transferred to the Alberta Sport Council by October 1986.

In the letter Conrad noted:

Overall there has been a concerted effort on both the Divisions [sic] and Sport Council's part to place greater responsibility for administration of support programs to the individual sport association. For the most part this is viewed as a progressive step, with the only concern being that the agency should recognize there will be as well be greater time spent by Associations administering their own affairs. All programs, other than the

Alberta Sports Hall of Fame and Museum, will effectively be transferred on October 1, 1986 (P. Conrad, personal correspondence August 21, 1986 p.1).

According to a letter sent to Loomis Courier Service by Catherine Armour, "Sport Alberta ceased operations effective February 28, 1987." All programs except the Alberta Sports Hall of Fame had been transferred to the Alberta Sport Council. While the official operation of Sport Alberta had ceased in 1987, its name was kept alive by a small five-member board which continued to administer and raise funds for the Alberta Sports Hall of Fame. In 1990 it began final negotiations for the transfer of the Sports Hall of Fame to the Alberta Sport Council. Gwen Smith noted:

The last thing that Sport Alberta passed on to the Council was the Hall of Fame. . . . We felt with no money it was logical to that Sport Council should have this program and that they were going to get lottery bucks so they could do big things for the Hall of Fame, but we really weren't sure how this would fly and we wanted to preserve this thing so we said we would keep things together and there is a three-year agreement that Sport Alberta struck with the Sport Council that if it didn't work out give it back to Sport Alberta and they would make the thing fly. I just met with Herb McLaughlin about an hour ago, I should have asked him. I think that three-year thing is over now and it seems to be going well. . . . We're meeting next month for our annual meeting and I think we may well dissolve then. I think it's time.

In October, 1992, a public announcement of the official transfer of the Hall of Fame was made, pending the location of a permanent site for the Hall of Fame. The name "Sport Alberta" is still on the books of Alberta Corporate and Consumer Affairs so that it is protected from being used by other sports groups. This has been done because, as Gwen Smith put it:

When the Sport Council came into being on April 1, '84, it would have been neat if they could have taken the name 'Sport Alberta,' . . . they [sport volunteers] can't seem to relate how this Alberta Sport Council and Sport Alberta fit. I mean, it is confusing to everybody, but I don't think there is any way [of] passing these programs over to Sport Council that we could dissolve Sport Alberta and give them the name. I don't know if that could have happened with the legislature . . . but I still feel that name Sport Alberta should be. Alberta Sport Council doesn't make sense?

Perhaps it would make sense to change the name, since this feeling is shared by other leaders in the sport community. Maybe one day this wish will be granted and the Alberta Sport Council will be known as Sport Alberta. This would make the abrogation or transformation complete, if not somewhat ironic, as the Alberta Sport Council would be given the name of the very institution that stood against its coming into being.

Analysis: The Role of Agency and Structure in the Entrenchment of Corporatism in Sport Development

The events described above illustrate that efforts to gain public status for the interests of sport development did not end with the creation of the Alberta Games Council. These efforts continued well into the 1980s and only ended once the Alberta Games Council had been transformed into the Alberta Sport Council and Sport Alberta's role as the representative of sport interests withered to nothing. The events which took place during this seven-year period of time were quite different from those which occurred over the course of the previous seven years. The outcomes of this time period cannot be interpreted as a means to solve a conflict between individuals, as was the case during the previous time period. Different individuals were involved and the government was acting in a very different social and economic context.

The process preceding the decision to create the Alberta Sport Council was very different from that which led to the creation of the Alberta Games Council. In the case of the Alberta Sport Council there was more public discussion about sport development and the needs of the sports community. Sport leaders, civil servants and politicians communicated regularly until a final course of action was accepted and implemented. Even so, as was the case during the previous seven-year period, activity focused on specifying the way in which sport interests would be defined, represented and addressed in the public domain.

The authority to sanction any system that would grant public status to sport interest representation rested in the hands of the provincial legislature. This

suggests that the public policy process was a fundamental component of the sports community's struggle to gain public status for sport interests. The analysis put forward in this section seeks to highlight the factors that effected the development of a sport policy that differed greatly from the proposals put forward by sport interest groups prior to and during the public policy process. In order to discover these factors, insights from theories of public policy were combined with insights revealed by using the three levels of analysis introduced in Chapter Four.

As in Chapter Four, the analysis in this chapter considers social actors, organizational factors and the social system. An analysis of the role played by key individuals identified by respondents is undertaken in conjunction with an analysis of organizational factors. In this analysis the factors which pertain to public policy-making are discussed. The analysis of organizational factors focuses primarily on the Alberta government because of its control and authority over the public policy process. Where appropriate, consideration is given to other organizations (i.e. Sport Alberta). The third level of analysis considers the social system in general in terms of social-structural pressures and influences that were identified as having some impact on the outcome of events.

(1) Key Actors

The data most relevant to this level of analysis came from interviews, archival documents and government publications. In examining this information the objective was to discover the factors that explain why the Progressive Conservative government was so committed to a sport delivery system that utilized a Crown corporation. Interviewees were asked to give their explanations of why the final policy which was approved and implemented differed so much from what was being discussed and put forward to government by the sport community. The responses of the interviewees focused primarily on the role of individuals and/or organizational factors. The two most frequently cited individuals were Peter Trynchy, the minister of Recreation and Parks, and his deputy minister, Barry Mitchelson.

Several individuals indicated that Trynchy contributed to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council by means of his ability to gain support from other MLAs and key members of the cabinet. Gary Tomick recalled, "none of this would have happened without the approval and the support and the workings of the minister in taking it through to cabinet." Trynchy also, as noted above, played an important role in encouraging and organizing sports groups to lobby for the changes to the lottery distribution formula that would ensure the money necessary to operate the council would be available. While most people spoke highly of Trynchy's political skills, they did not suggest that he had played a significant role in formulating or directing the development of the form that the Alberta Sport Council would take.

Barry Mitchelson was consistently identified as the person who exerted the most influence over the council's formation. During an interview, Paul Conrad commented:

During my two-and-a-half year stay with them [Sport Alberta] I met with everybody from the deputy minister down in regard to the future of Sport Alberta and, while the provincial government never came out and said it, I believe Barry did in a meeting that I had with him that they just wanted Sport Alberta to go quietly into the dust. Peter Trynchy was getting his advice from Barry Mitchelson and Barry had very significant influence, as deputy minister, on the direction of Recreation and Parks. I'm in no position to judge the relative success or failure of that influence, but, when it got right down to it . . . there was no conciliation or attempt to reconcile or to look at compromises throughout the history of Sport Alberta, that is its relationship with the province. It was a win-lose situation.

Former Sport Alberta president and Alberta Sport Council board member Gwen Smith identified Barry Mitchelson as "the number-one guy who pushed everyone to get the Sport Council off the ground." Dick White remarked:

This Sport Council was a dream of Barry Mitchelson who came from the University of Alberta. I attended a number of conferences with Barry, you know. Let's face it, he just came out of an Intersport Program and he wound up deputy minister and implementing that program and he did a fantastic job. Barry and I have had our differences of opinion as to whether it should have ever happened in the way it did, but you know,

what I like to say is give the devil his due. He did a hell of a job, you know, and is very successful today.

The role that these individuals have attributed to Barry Mitchelson deserves serious attention as a key factor that influenced the decision to create a Crown corporation to oversee sport development. All sources of data indicate that Barry Mitchelson was involved in key positions throughout this second seven-year period examined in this study. In many of those roles he was given the task of presenting recommendations as to how sport development might be coordinated in Alberta. His involvement can be traced to the board of directors of Sport Alberta in the mid-1970s, the chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee from 1979 to 1980, and finally to the Alberta government where he served as deputy minister from 1981 until 1988. Mitchelson himself attributed less significance to the role he played in the development of the Alberta Sport Council than the other individuals involved.

Given his long-term involvement in key organizations and his tenure as deputy minister, Mitchelson was clearly in a position where he could exert significant influence over the outcome of the sport policy process. Several publications on public administration in Canada have emphasized the key role played by deputy ministers (cf. Bojecho, 1982; Brooks, 1989; Kernaghan & Siegel, 1987). Deputy ministers act as the administrative heads of government departments and as such are in a position to significantly influence cabinet ministers who are ultimately responsible for policy decisions. "The fact is," write Kernaghan and Siegel (1989), "that deputy ministers often do exercise power—in the form of influence—through policy initiatives in which their minister has had little involvement" (p. 332). With particular reference to deputy ministers in Alberta during Peter Lougheed's rule, Bojecho notes, "Senior officials have said that although they have little influence directly on public policy, they do have influence in advising elected politicians."

One must conclude that the actions of Mitchelson did play a significant role in influencing the outcome of the Alberta government's sport policy. In

particular, Mitchelson's unsympathetic opinions and feelings towards Sport Alberta are reflected in Sport Alberta's ultimate exclusion from a legitimate role in sport development in Alberta. While the data fail to reveal if Mitchelson's influence extended to other issues, such as the decision to create a Crown corporation, Bojecho's comments about the apparent influence of deputy ministers in the Alberta government suggest it is likely that Mitchelson would have exerted some influence with regard to other related issues. Unfortunately, since all respondents, including Barry Mitchelson, failed to give any specific details that could be used to draw specific conclusions in this regard. Exactly what these issues were and how they were contested within the government remains obscure.

(2) Organizational Factors

Notwithstanding the significance of the role played by Barry Mitchelson, the data also indicated that organizational factors influenced the outcome of the policy process. In this regard, the opinions of the members of the sports community and Sport Alberta differed from those of the elected politicians, which in turn differed from those of the civil servants.

Members of the sports community and Sport Alberta made comments that implied the Alberta government's sport policy turned out the way it did because the government was interested in increasing its control over sport development in Alberta. After the Ad Hoc Committee report had been presented to government officials, they proceed to engage in a public discussion in order to propagate their own view of how sport delivery in Alberta should be managed. Several individuals indicated that the public hearings were primarily used to tell the sports community what was going to be happening. Little if any input was received or desired from those attending the public meetings. A former president of Sport Alberta recalled:

I don't think they wanted any input. It was ready to fly. . . . They may have adjusted some of the stuff that was not quite carved in stone, but I

don't think they had any idea of doing anything different either; it was ready to go.

Similarly, the technical director of one provincial sport association reported that the policy meetings had been a "staged affair where we were guided to give the answers that the Sport Council and the Department wanted." This individual described the characteristics of a second round of public meetings, held in the early 1990s, to illustrate her point:

In the second one, it was staged very well, in that you almost felt like you did have input and you did have some, give some direction. It really made no difference into the sport development policy whatsoever because it just sort of went in the direction they wanted. I felt I had more influence as an individual or we had more influence as a sport when I had smaller group meetings with Jack Monaghan and a few of us from the technical development division when they were trying to redefine their [the Alberta Sport Council's] whole policy and their structure within their office. It was a smaller type of session specifically focused on one specific agenda; not the whole thing which was basically led down the garden path, so to speak.

In direct contrast to representatives of the sports community, elected officials¹⁷ and senior members of the departmental bureaucracy emphasized that the sport policy emerged from an extensive consultation with the general public. For example, when discussing the historical background that led to the formation of the Alberta Sport Council, Peter Trynchy emphasized that Intersport was somewhat important because through that medium he was able to ascertain what the general public wanted with regard to government assistance to sport development. Over and over again he emphasized that he did not want a system where government was running things. He wanted one where volunteers did the work. These people also drew attention to the ineffectiveness of Sport Alberta as the key reason why the final policy differed from the recommendations of the

¹⁷Here elected officials refer to representatives of the Progressive Conservative government. Members of the opposition who were identified as critics of sport policy were contacted, but could not be interviewed. Several phone calls and letters were not returned.

sport community. The leadership of Sport Alberta was seen to be unfit to oversee sport development in Alberta. Barry Mitchelson, commented:

Probably the most significant thing that I think would have influenced the recommendation and then ultimately the decision that endorsed it [the Alberta Sport Council] was the effective or ineffectiveness of Sport Alberta which was, and could have been as was stated in their terms of reference, an umbrella organization. And it had not been particularly productive. Now someone would come to their defence and say, 'Well, we weren't given the chance, whatever, whatever'. Well, it had been there long enough from my perspective. You know, quite frankly, I sat on that board and I just got tired of the infighting.

Members of the departmental bureaucracy also emphasized the role that public meetings, public submissions and studies of other sports systems played in the policy process and government decision-making¹⁸. In agreement with the minister and the deputy minister, one department official noted that government was concerned about the instability of Sport Alberta and that figured into its decision to create a Crown corporation that employed many of the key people who had been involved from the start. There were other additional benefits such as access to tax benefits that could be passed on to potential donors. As well it meant less dependence on government dollars. It was also suggested that creating a Crown corporation was a practical way to use lottery funds and keep these funds out of the hands of government. Amending existing legislation had not been anticipated and the decision to amend was based on pragmatic considerations related to timing and to preserving the integrity of what was needed. There was an opportunity to access lottery money only if the program got running as soon as possible. The decision was opportunity-based.

The analyses offered by the interviewees can be synthesized into three explanations. The first explanation suggests the sport policy was the result of a deliberate and calculated effort on the part of the Alberta government to gain

¹⁸These are summarized in the government publications entitled *Proposed Sport Development Policy: Comparison of National and International Sport Policy* and *Proposed Sport Policy: Sport Issues*, Vol. 1 and 2.

authority over sport development in Alberta in order to achieve political objectives. The second explanation (that of politicians) suggests the sport policy was the direct result of consultations with the public and a desire on the part of the government to legitimize a sport development system that was big on community involvement and small on government intervention. The third explanation suggests that the sport policy was the result of a compromise that addressed the needs of politicians, the demands of the sports community and the legal limitations placed on government activity. The validity of each these explanations is addressed below by identifying points of coherence between the data, the rationales for the creation of Crown corporations and theories of public policy-making cited in the literature on public administration.

(a) A decision intended to increase government control?

The creation of the Alberta Sport Council did increase the Alberta government's scope of authority over sport development (see Chapter Six), but no evidence was discovered that supports the suggestion that a Crown corporation was created in order to increase the government's role and control. Even if evidence of such an intention had been discovered, government desire to control sport development cannot, by itself, explain the choice of a Crown corporation. Other governments, both federal and provincial, have exerted considerable influence and authority over sport development through their own departments and central agencies without choosing to create a single Crown corporation for this purpose¹⁹.

The absence of evidence indicating a government plot to influence sport development does not discount the suggestion that the Alberta government had an interest in promoting sport development to achieve political objectives. Two of the nine rationales for the creation of Crown corporations discussed by Kernaghan

¹⁹This is illustrated by Kidd (1981), Harvey (1988), Macintosh & Whitson (1990) and other authors.

and Siegel (1987) are associated with achieving political objectives: province building and political opportunism. The data collected for this study support the conclusion these two rationales are among the important factors that explain the government's choice of a Crown corporation.

Nation or province building has been identified by Prichard (1983) as the most prevalent rationale for the creation of Crown corporations. "Provinces use the Crown corporation as an instrument to engage in province building and to attain their rightful position in the national economy" (Kernaghan & Siegel, 1983, p. 176). An important component of province building is provincialism as expressed in terms of a province's desire to promote its cultural, economic and geographical uniqueness. Sport's ability to foster and promote nationalism and provincialism is well documented (cf. Kidd, 1981; Harvey, 1988; Harvey & Proulx 1988; Macintosh et al., 1987). Comments contained in the transcripts and the documentary evidence collected for this study indicate that the Alberta government was well aware of sport's potential to contribute to provincialism and province building in numerous ways. The most convincing evidence can be found in the Alberta government's Sport Development Policy under the heading 'The Economics of Sport' where the following comments are made:

Within the past decade, several societal trends have emerged which have impacted positively upon the growth and development of sport in Alberta. It is increasingly apparent that these trends have significant implications for the economic growth and stability of not only the sport system, but of municipalities, regions and the province. Trends such as the increase in sport participation; in the number of public, private and commercial sport facilities and opportunities; and in consumer expenditures related to sports equipment, clothing and fees/memberships, imply that there are direct and indirect economic benefits associated with sport.

Public demand and sport-related consumer expenditures not only provide a basis for the expansion, growth, and stability of sport facilities and opportunities, but also influence the growth and stability of related manufacturing and service industries. This, in turn, provides opportunities for employment and assists in the economic diversification of the manufacturing and service sectors of the sports industry. This benefits municipalities, regions and the province. In another economic area,

participation in sport has often been considered an important factor in reducing medical costs (p. 33).

Political opportunism has also been cited as a reason for the creation of Crown corporations. This rationale focuses on the dimensions of government concern with vote maximization and concern for self-interest that forms the basis of the public choice perspective on policy-making. From this point of view a government is most likely to create a Crown corporation because this form of policy implementation:

is the most visible and leads to the capture of the maximum number of votes from people who are interested in a particular policy area. For example, if a government provided a grant to a private corporation to create jobs, this might be overlooked or forgotten at election time; it is more difficult to forget that your town's major employer is a Crown corporation (Kernaghan & Siegel, 1987, p. 180).

The Lougheed government's focus on province building and its early success in this area contributed to its popularity with the electorate, which suggests that, in this case, the rationale of province building is closely linked to the rationale of political opportunism. According to Tupper, Pratt and Urquhart (1992) the province-building strategy pursued by Peter Lougheed during the 1970s began to unravel "amidst the virtual collapse of the western Canadian economy after 1981" (p. 33). Lougheed's response was "to become even more interventionist, though in different ways and for different motives" (Tupper et al. p. 33). During the 1980s, the government scrambled to smooth out the cycles of an unstable economy, to pursue its economic strategy in new areas and to simultaneously protect its eroding political base.

In view of the observations of Tupper et al. (1992) and the data collected for this case, it is reasonable to suggest that the attention the government gave to sport was, at the very least, partly motivated by the potential benefits that would accrue politically if Albertans saw themselves being more successful in the context of sport. The data, however, did not give any indication of the degree to which this factor had bearing on the decision to create a Crown corporation.

(b) A decision based purely upon public input?

The public-input explanation put forward by the senior government officials interviewed for this study contradicts the statements made by many individuals who attended the public discussions. Furthermore, as noted above, the documentary evidence suggests that several significant requests that emerged from these discussions were absent from the sport policy. Specifically missing from the policy were directives to provide Sport Alberta with a legitimate role in Alberta's sport development system and directives to ensure direct public input in the selection of the directors of the organization charged with overseeing sport development.

The critics of the policy process failed to recognize that some important requests that came from public input were addressed. For instance, the request for a larger and more stable source of funding for sport was met unequivocally. Government voted to redistribute the allocation of lottery monies and gave a greater share to sports organizations through the Alberta Sport Council. Although the subject of some contention, the creating of a Crown corporation enabled the Alberta government to address the request that government remain detached from sport development. The literature on public administration suggests that Crown corporations are often created in order reduce government influence (Kernaghan & Siegel, 1987). In this case, however, the explanatory significance of this rationale taken in isolation is limited, if at all applicable, since this rationale is usually applied to organizations with a predominantly commercial mandate and such a mandate is not characteristic of the Alberta Sport Council.

(c) A decision aimed at conciliating interests?

The explanation put forward by civil servants drew attention to a number of factors which include those noted above. In addition to concerns that are related to province building and political opportunism, this group drew attention to issues related to fiscal and legal constraints and timing. In granting the request to increase the funding available to sports groups, the Alberta government

allocated financial resources outside of its primary and traditional sources of revenues, namely funds from the sale of lottery tickets.

Government procedures regulating the distribution of lottery monies indicate that these funds should be allocated to not-for-profit or Crown organizations, but not to internal government departments. As a result, in choosing this source of funding, government officials had no other option but to place the administration of these funds in the hands of an external agency. Alternatively, government could have chosen to allocate more funds from the general revenues fund, however, the economic downturn that began in the early 1980s increased public scrutiny of patterns of government spending. The ten-million-dollar increase in expenditures on sport that was possible through a reallocation of lottery money would likely have been met with some if not considerable public disapproval if this had been achieved through a reallocating of tax money or a tax increase in order to make it possible to use money from the general revenue fund. Taking these circumstances into account, it is reasonable to conclude that the decision to use lottery money as the source of funding rather than tax dollars meant that the management of sport development would have to be extended to include, if not completely transferred to, an outside organization.

This approach to increasing the amount of money available to sport did not, in and of itself, require the creation of a Crown corporation. These funds could have been directed to any non-profit organization charged with overseeing sport development. However, there was a second additional factor that favoured the selection of a Crown corporation. This factor was a concern that the organization to become responsible for sport development be eligible to secure funding from the widest possible variety of sources and means. These sources and means included corporate donations, corporate sponsorships, gifts in kind and, most significant of all, tax-refundable donations. Tax-deductible donations made to sport development would only be possible by means of a Crown corporation. Under these conditions, donations could be interpreted as gifts to the Crown

whereas donations to not-for-profit sports associations have never been granted tax-deductible status.

The government's decision to use lottery money combined with its desire to encourage the public to contribute to sport development voluntarily (rather than through taxation) played a crucial role in determining the outcomes of the policy process and the decision to create a Crown corporation. In order to implement these two decisions, government officials had to deal with the structural limitations guiding the institutional framework within which they operated. Of all the available options, the Crown corporation appears to be the only option that could accommodate these considerations.

(3) Social System Factors: The Role of Politics and Economics

Political economy must also be considered to ensure a comprehensive analysis of the circumstances that led to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council. The importance of these factors is stressed by Tupper et al. (1992) who maintain that "Alberta's chronic economic instability, its dependence on primary resource production and its acute vulnerability to external forces, both economic and political, exert an extraordinary influence on government" (p. 31). Furthermore, they emphasize:

Without discounting the explanatory value of such variables as leadership, party ideology, federal-provincial relations, or class position, we believe these have less analytic power in the interpretation of the policies and interventions of the provincial government than does the unpredictable and extreme variability of Alberta's economy (p. 34).

Tupper et al.'s (1992) discussion of the role of the Alberta government focuses on financial institutions, forestry development and public accountability, highlighting several key features of Alberta's political economy that provide some insight into the way in which this factor contributed to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council. In their discussion of the relationship between resource revenues and public expenditures from the period 1970 through 1991, Tupper et al. indicate that, while the province's revenues grew dramatically throughout the 1970s, they

began to stagnate in 1980 and have declined steadily since 1986. Beginning in 1982, "program expenditure failed to keep pace with inflation" (p. 49). By the fiscal year 1989/90 recreation and culture's budget changed -73% and was among the "four functions of government [that] suffered 'retrenchment', dramatic real cuts in funding, between 1981 and 1989" (p. 50). Through these facts it is possible to draw attention to a chain of events that demonstrates the impact that political economy can have on sport development and the outcome of sport development policy.

The facts denoted by Tupper et al. (1992) and other data indicate that Alberta's economy impacted on sport through a chain of systemic pressures. The chain of pressures proceeds as follows: a reduction in oil prices caused a reduction in the province's resource revenues and general revenue fund. This motivated movement to reduce provincial expenditures. In an effort to provide more money for sport development in the face of shrinking general revenues and growing public pressure for greater funding of sport, the provincial government turned to the growing pool of lottery profits. The government's own policy forbade it from funnelling lottery funds through its own departments; hence an alternative means of distribution had to be developed. The government's continued focus on province building, electoral support, increased focus on intervention, its advocacy of a business approach to government and administration, all combined together to culminate in the birth of a new Crown corporation: the Alberta Sport Council.

Summary

The period between 1977 and 1984 has been the most active period in the history of sport development in Alberta. During this time period time, sport advocates and politicians became engaged in an intense discussion that led to a marked change in Alberta's sport delivery system. Despite considerable criticism and resistance from several fronts including the sports community, the general

public and some civil servants, legislation to enact a Crown corporation responsible to oversee sport development was passed by the Alberta government.

The data analysis conducted for this case study considered three levels of analysis that revealed this unique approach to sport development was the consequence of several interrelated factors. At the level of social actors it was discovered that the deputy minister for Recreation and Parks played a significant role. Through his experience as a leader in the sports community he had developed a vision of an integrated sport development system which he continued to pursue during his tenure as deputy minister. In considering the level of the organization, it was noted that the decision to create the Alberta Sport Council was the result of an extensive policy process. This drew attention to explanatory factors related to the organization of the Alberta government and possible rationales for creating a Crown corporation. At this level the most significant factor was the decision to fund sport with the profits from lotteries. This decision introduced severe constraints on the type of system that could be used to administer sport development. Once the decision to increase sport funding via lottery profits was made, only two possible mechanisms for distributing these funds could be considered without violating the government's own rules regarding the use of these funds. At the level of political economy it was discovered that Alberta's recurrent economic instability played a role in government decision-making particularly with regard to their decision to allocate lottery profits to sport development.

Chapter Six

A Glimpse and Assessment of the Impact of the Alberta Sport Council

The discussions contained in the previous chapters have examined the circumstances that led to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council. This was done in order to understand why the Alberta government decided to use a Crown corporation to oversee the province's sport development. In concluding this examination of the Alberta Sport Council, this chapter focuses on the Alberta Sport Council's impact on sport development in Alberta. This study was particularly concerned with determining if this unique approach to sport development was having a distinctive impact when compared to other modes of sport development employed outside the province of Alberta.

The following discussion of the impact of the Alberta Sport Council compares the responses collected from interviews with discussions of the characteristics of sport development put forward in similar studies of state intervention in sport development. The discussion begins with a brief description of the structure and organization of the Alberta Sport Council during its first few years of operation. This description is followed by an examination of the organization's impact on sport development. The data suggest the Alberta Sport Council has created new opportunities and new constraints in the area of sport development that are consistent with the characteristics of federal government sport intervention. The Alberta Sport Council may be unique in terms of a few aspects of its organization; however, when compared to the federal government it is not unique in its approach or intentions.

Structure and Organization of the Alberta Sport Council

The structure of the Alberta Sport Council is depicted in Figure One. The minister of Alberta Recreation and Parks sits at the top of the Alberta Sport Council's organizational hierarchy. Directly beneath the minister is the second tier of the Alberta Sport Council. This tier has three components. The first

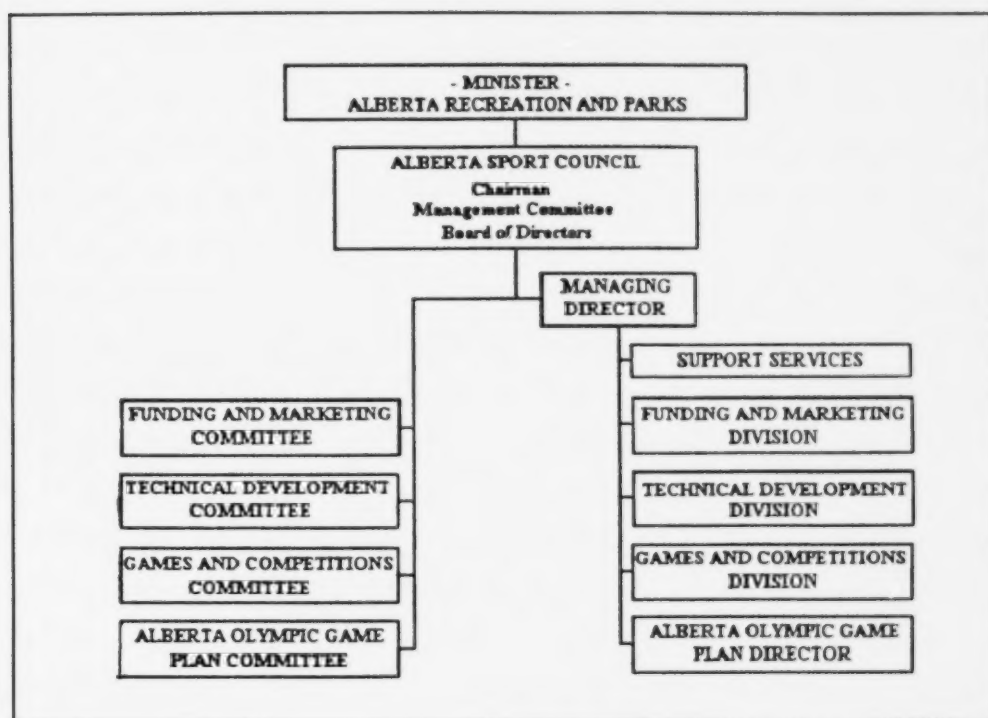


Figure One: The Structure of the Alberta Sport Council

component is the "Chairman" of the board of directors who is the "Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation" and who is "responsible for directing the affairs of the Corporation" (Nowicki, Van Vliet, Elliot, Bernatzki, Gibb, & Monaghan, 1984 p. 14). The second component is the management committee which consists of at least three members including the chairman and at least one government employee and the "chairmen" of the four standing committees depicted in the lower left two-thirds of Figure Five. The third component of this second tier is a 16-member volunteer board of directors which also includes the overall chairman of the board. The third and final tier of the Alberta Sport Council has two parallel components. One side of this third tier is made up of four standing committees: the funding and marketing committee, technical development committee, the Games and competition committee and the Alberta

Olympic Game Plan committee. Each of these committees has the authority to establish subcommittees as required in order to accomplish specific tasks. The other side of the third tier consists of employees responsible for program service and delivery. This tier is led by a managing director who is responsible for overseeing four divisions (a) support services, (b) funding and marketing, (c) technical development, (d) games and competitions and the Alberta Olympic Game Plan director.

During their interviews representatives of the Alberta Sport Council and others discussed some of their personal feelings regarding its operation. The most common and consistent concerns focused on the following areas: the composition and role of the board of directors, overlaps with Alberta Recreation and Parks, empire building and inefficiencies with Alberta Sport Council and a lack of internal co-ordination. Although it was not the intent of this study to examine the day-to-day operation of the council in any great detail, the concerns that were raised about the operation of the council were seen to be relevant to its impact on sport development and will be discussed briefly in this section and in more depth later under the heading "Empire Building."

(1) Board of Directors: Business versus Sport Experts

Inasmuch as the Alberta Sport Council's board of directors is responsible for guiding the council's affairs, its members have the capacity to influence sport development by means of the programs and policies they choose to advocate and implement. Individuals who spoke out against establishing the Alberta Sport Council were concerned that the people appointed to the council's board of directors would not be creditable representatives of the sports community and sport interests. The appointments that have been made since the council's inception have not quieted this concern.

Interview candidates were asked to provide their assessment of appointments that have been made to the council's board of directors. Most of those interviewed were aware that the appointments were made by the minister of

Recreation and Parks. Few people, including the board members who were interviewed, were able to outline any specific criteria that were used to determine who would be appointed by the minister. Peter Trynchy and Dwight Ganske (of Alberta Recreation and Parks) indicated that appointments were made after considering a list of nominations submitted by Albertans. They noted that there is no limit to the number of nominations that can be submitted and that these nominations can be put forward by MLAs or anyone else. The names are summarized and reviewed by the minister with input from MLAs and the chairman of the Alberta Sport Council. According to Ganske, during the review process several factors regarding representation such as sport background, business background and geographic location are kept in mind when making appointments. Of these factors, geography was identified as being the most significant inasmuch as it was important to the Alberta Sport Council that all zones be represented²⁰. Appointments are then made from a final list of candidates through an order in council.

Many of the individuals expressed concern that the people who have been chosen to serve on the Alberta Sport Council have not been truly representative of individuals who participate in amateur sport. Many individuals, including board members themselves, indicated that they believed many of the appointments made by the minister were political. Gwen Smith, who was among the first group of people to be appointed to the Alberta Sport Council, made the following comments in this regard:

At the beginning I thought, these were political appointments and then I thought they don't know whether I'm a Liberal or a N. D. or whatever. They had no idea whether I'm a Conservative or whatever because I just never declared what I was. And so I thought, maybe I'm the oddball on this board I was the only female on the board for years maybe I'm the token female on the board or whatever. I really felt on the first board we

²⁰ The Sport Council has divided Alberta into eight geographical zones that are used to ensure that programs and opportunities are spread equitably throughout Alberta.

had there were really good, sharp people, but I didn't feel there were enough people on that 16-member board at the start that knew enough about amateur sport. They knew a lot about business. I knew zip-all about business, but I did know amateur sport and I felt, gosh, there's not a good balance here. These guys can work out budgets in the millions which is just fine and dandy, but they don't really understand or have any empathy for what amateur sport is all about.

Smith's concerns were also shared by Dr. Trevor Slack, former president of Sport Alberta and researcher in the area of sport administration, who commented:

When they first appointed the Council, guys were on it like Gerry Glassford, Tom Humphreys, Gwen Smith. Those were at least three, but there were more people who I would say who knew about sport. Tom Humphreys had been a school principal and president of the Alberta Schools Athletic Association. Both Gerry and Gwen knew sport. They had been involved in different ways, in different levels. They understood sport. There were some other Tories who didn't. It seems to me that the number of the Gerry Glassford, Gwen Smith and Tom Humphreys type people has diminished.

Finally, the Alberta Sport Council's managing director, Max Gibb, commented that the nature of appointees changes depending upon the minister in charge:

The initial ones [appointees] were very prestigious business and sport people: Dr. Van Vliet; Don Skagen; Ron Elliot managing partner of Deloitte Touche; those kinds of people. We had a new minister and that minister wanted grassroots people brought in. You know, I can see most of their philosophy and that is, by the way, one of the things that has amazed me in terms of the political change. Getting back to the political change, the ministers will appoint people based on some criteria: sport, business, grassroots, whatever. But the minister, himself or herself, sort of appoints the kind that they feel are important. Though, the chairman has some input. It has been more of a political input for the last 5 or 10 years and we're getting less of a heavyweight and more of a grassroots. Now I think that is starting to change again with the new minister. But we have sort of gone through a couple of cycles, usually politically friendly, though they haven't all been Conservative in fairness. We have had some noted non-Conservatives. But the ministers have sort of related to what they think is important. This has had an impact in seeing a change in board members.

A cursory examination of the backgrounds of the first slate of Alberta Sport Council board members indicates a strong bias towards members of Alberta's business elite. All members of the inaugural board of directors with the exception of Mrs. Smith, Mr. Moore and Mr. Humphrey appear to have held high-ranking positions within the organizations that employed them. The chief executive position on the board was given to Don Skagen who, at the time of his appointment, was also the chief executive officer of Mohawk Oil, former chairman of the Alberta Games Council, chairman of the Alberta Canada Telecommunications Group, vice-chairman of Northland Bank (ranked 59th among all banks in Canada with respect to assets) and the Niagara Institute. He was also a director of the Calgary Stampeders Football Club and had interests in several professional sports teams in the Vancouver area. Mr. Skagen has also been identified as a close friend of Peter Lougheed, who was the premier of Alberta at the time of Skagen's appointment.

The Sport Council's vice-chairman was then and still is Sherrold Moore. Moore is also the vice-president of production for Amoco Canada (in 1984 ranked 11th among all of the corporations operating in Canada with respect to profit). Mr. Moore is a close personal friend of then Premier Peter Lougheed and was a member of the Alberta Games Council and the Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation. At the time of his appointment Moore was also acting president of the Alberta Swimming Association which was, at that time, considered by many to be the most successful sport governing body within Alberta. He was also one of the key organizers in recently elected Premier Ralph Klein's leadership campaign.

Mr. Ron Elliot, the financial member, was a managing partner of the accounting firm Deloitte, Haskin and Sells. He also has been part of at least 14 different private and government committees and task forces and a former member of the Alberta Games Council. It should also be noted that when Mr. Elliot's tenure on the board of directors expired he was replaced by another managing partner from Deloitte, Haskin and Sells.

Mr. Don Sprague is the son of Walter Sprague, who is a very prominent figure in the Edmonton community. At the time of his appointment Mr. Sprague was vice-president of Edmonton Northlands (his father was past president) and also sat on the Calgary Olympic Board, Universiade '83 Board, the Western Canada Lottery Foundation and the Board of Chembiomed, a chemical company pioneering medical research. Sprague is also a past president of the Mayfair Golf and Country Club.

The strong ties to business and key politicians characteristic of the five individuals described above were also characteristic of at least four additional members of the inaugural Alberta Sport Council board of directors. At least 9 of the 16 (56 per cent) inaugural board members can be described as political appointees and/or as individuals with questionable experience in the area of amateur sport. Some individuals have suggested that the bias towards appointing business leaders has decreased: however, they also pointed out that this has not meant that recent appointments have been any more qualified or any less political.

Several board members believed that in order to be appointed to the board it was necessary to engage in a significant amount of politicking. One of the board members interviewed gave a detailed description of how it was necessary to actively lobby through personal friends and to reach the ears of several ministers, as well as the ears of several other influential people, in order to gain an appointment. Other individuals cited additional activities that included writing letters, attending Progressive Conservative Party barbecues and running as a Progressive Conservative candidate in provincial elections as being helpful.

One interviewee claimed that he knew someone who, after an unsuccessful bid to become a Progressive Conservative MLA, was appointed to the Alberta Sport Council. During a conversation with the interviewee this appointee allegedly remarked, "I didn't even know what the hell the Sport Council was, but I was asked if I would sit on the board and I said sure." "This," commented the

interviewee, "pointed out right off the bat that, sure, we have very good people involved, successful businessmen, but their involvement in sport was very limited."

The characteristics of the first appointees to the Alberta Sport Council reflect the corporatist strategy that the Lougheed government had employed throughout its tenure. They also demonstrate that the social and political structure of Alberta is in many ways consistent with that of Canada as a whole and that of most other capitalist states where alliances between political leaders and government officials are the norm (cf. Clement, 1975; Miliband, 1973; Mills, 1957). As Miliband (1973) and others have noted, these alliances have enabled the interests of business to significantly influence economic and social policy. This is also true of Alberta.

The type of people who have been appointed to the Alberta Sport Council suggest the alliance between the Conservative government and Alberta's business elite was being extended beyond the management of the economy to areas of social policy and service delivery that could be run by quasi- and non-governmental agencies rather than directly by government itself. It was up to this board, with the support of the legislature, to promote a businesslike approach to sport delivery. In this regard a senior Alberta Sport Council employee noted that the Alberta Sport Council chairman had instructed him to "run the Sport Council as a business first and as a sport organization second" and to ensure that the Sport Council took "all the hits in terms of the decisions and policies that are negative and give all of the positives to the government."

(2) Empire Building: Sport Council's Burgeoning Bureaucracy and Overlaps with Alberta Recreation and Parks

The implementation strategy that was developed as a guide for the structuring of the Alberta Sport Council emphasized two principles which were deemed to have a direct impact on the staffing system of the council:

1. "The Sport Council should ensure that maximum resources are available for program development."

2. "The Sport Council should operate on a cost effective basis" (Nowicki et al. 1984, p. 57).

Guided by these principles the implementation committee concluded that the administrative needs of the Alberta Sport Council could be fulfilled by 15 employees, occasionally aided by a small number of temporary contract staff.

Within two years, however, the Alberta Sport Council would employ almost 60 individuals. This is how one former employee described this rapid growth:

In 1984 the organization was set up to be responsible to the minister of Alberta Recreation and Parks through the managing director. There were standing committees established in the implementation strategy. They called for games and competitions, technical and a marketing standing committee. Further on, then, they have added eight sort of zone committees. And then there was supposed to be three sections: games and competitions, . . . technical development section which disbursed the lottery dollars and then a fund-raising and marketing. That was the organization: one, two, three, four management staff, more or less. By the time 1986 rolled around we had a managing director; we had a manager of fund-raising or whatever other title you want to use; we had a zone sport director; we had a games and competitions director; we had a technical manager; we had a local sport development director; we had a provincial high-performance director; we had an Olympic Game Plan director. One, two, three, four, five, six, seven there is one more I am missing there somewhere. I don't know who it is. So what's happened is everybody who was given a title was also cut out a little piece of the pie to pursue. And this is what they did. They pursued their own initiatives. So games and competitions was given a standing committee called games and competitions, but they also had a cultural advisory committee and many other ones. Within technical, they were provided with the technical development committee. Zones had eight zone committees and then were provided with one overall zone committee. And then marketing had their marketing committee, and their Alberta Olympic Game Plan had their own Alberta Olympic Game Plan committee. And then there were a couple of subcommittees on Journal Game Plan. Then the Sport Hall of Fame came in and they had their standing committee. All of these kinds of activities were as a result of what was perceived to be a natural growth of the organization. But the problem was that there was no focus. And it was never brought to the board of directors through the managing director.

The rapid growth in staff and the bureaucracy associated with sport development in Alberta caused some people to be concerned about the Alberta

Sport Council's top-heavy administration. These people questioned the necessity of the positions that had been created. They were concerned that funds which should have been passed on to assist provincial sport associations were being used to pay unnecessary salaries. This concern was summarized by then-board member Gwen Smith, who commented:

I guess away back in the early '80s the ideal of number of staff required to put on the programs that we were doing, counting the different games, winter and summer and so on, was about twenty to twenty-five staff, necessary, full-time staff. Well, for some unknown reason we got up to forty-four staff. At every board meeting for about two years I said, 'are we finished hiring?' Because every time you hire somebody . . . you learn something. You've got to bring in all the support staff, plus the desks and the cubicles and the furniture. The whole thing snowballed. . . . It got so top heavy with administrative costs, it really upset me. Now the minister's come in; he said 'Listen guys, I've done my homework. It said way back, when that twenty-five people could run this whole thing. So what are you doing with forty?'

These feelings were also echoed by Dick White, former President of Sport Alberta, who accused the managing director of empire building:

It [the Sport Council] has done some good in the fact that a lot of money has gone into the sports community. One assumes that and that's good. And I am sure a lot of that money is being used well. So if it got money into sport, that's a plus. I think it could have been done a lot differently, probably a hell of a lot cheaper. You know what has happened with the council is that somebody has built an empire. Max Gibb has built this huge empire: as I say, up to sixty people at one time. And obviously some of those people have done really good stuff for sports. I think some of those people are interested in sports and there has been a lot of money going to sport so that is sort of the positive side of it. As I say, I think the organization could have been a lot more streamlined. They have bodies all over the place.

Those who questioned the rapid growth of the Alberta Sport Council's professional staff also drew attention to this growth's impact on the efficiency of the Alberta government-sponsored sport delivery system. The main concern in this regard had to do with duplication of services performed by the Alberta Sport Council and the Department of Recreation and Parks. Employees of the Alberta

Sport Council suggested that Alberta Recreation and Parks provided many services that the Alberta Sport Council could and should be providing. Similarly, Alberta Recreation and Parks employees suggested the Alberta Sport Council was providing many services that Alberta Recreation and Parks could and should be providing.

Several individuals suggested that the duplication of services can be traced to the Alberta Recreation and Parks staff's reluctance to pass any aspects of their role in sport development over to the Alberta Sport Council. According to one senior manager of the Alberta Sport Council:

The staff from the department felt threatened by the establishing of the Alberta Sport Council, who were kind of a thrust on them. They thought that way, I think. They had no idea of what the roles were or what the reaction was going to be. They didn't know whether their department was going to be swallowed up by the Sport Council. There was some speculation that this may have been the case. They didn't know how much authority the minister would give the council.

Another senior manager noted:

Many of the ministers thought that the Sport Council would take all the work. But the department responsible really didn't want to let it go the bureaucrats. And it has caused some confusion. So there is really, in a sense, a dual delivery system which causes and creates some confusion. The government departments tend to never really want to give it up. They, in many cases, keep wanting to take back territory.

The Alberta Sport Council's mandate was to be limited to areas related to developing the technical aspects of sport in Alberta. Technical development areas included things such as coaching development, talent identification, training camps, special competitions, etc. The Department of Recreation and Parks was to limit its involvement to developing the administrative aspects of sport development in Alberta. Administration development areas included things like planning meetings, board meetings, executive director salaries, newsletters, etc. Unfortunately these tasks tended to overlap because technical initiatives require administrative support, while administrative functions like planning and financial control involve things like training camps, etc. Further, as was pointed out over and over

again in the interview data, there have been numerous grey areas where distinguishing what is technical from that which is administrative was difficult. Many technical programs had administrative components for which associations sought government assistance. Having separate organizations for the technical and the administrative was never practicable and the associations often found it difficult to determine which organization would be the appropriate one to approach for funding.

The duplication of services has, according to some individuals, placed a strain on the Alberta Sport Council's relationship with the government. Other individuals felt that, although problematic, the duplication of services was merely a growing pain that would be overcome as time progressed. Nonetheless, the duplication of services created considerable confusion among provincial sport organizations. As one senior Alberta Sport Council manager noted:

There is some program overlap. Part of that, I think, is still protection of turf, so to speak. One example, for example, is the hosting program. Alberta Recreation and Parks have hosting programs to provide dollars to events that are hosted in Alberta, mainly national championships. Their programs still do provide for international championship events. The Alberta Sport Council has a program for hosting events that involves international events, North American events, western Canadian. So there is some confusion out there as a result. There is some confusion from program point of view. There is duplication with regard to dealing with associations.

The technical director of a provincial sport association suggested that from the point of view of provincial associations the duplication between the Alberta Sport Council and the Department of Recreation and Parks was counterproductive:

No, it [the relationship between the Alberta Sport Council and Alberta Recreation and Parks] is not constructive at all. I think it's very poor and I think it's costing the people a lot of money and it's a waste of time and a lot of people sense this. I think it needs to be combined. I don't see any purpose to have both there. I would like to see somebody at some point in time say, 'Yes the council can talk for the administration.' I mean, it's stupid to say we're going to give you money for this and this and this, but we can't give you money for, for instance, an executive director's type of

position, you know, because that's not our mandate. But then the department says, well, they don't have the ability to deal with that or whatever. So then you ask, who does? Who deals with this greater area of administration which is basically the foundation of everything we do? I mean, if we don't have administration, we have a problem. . . . I only want to deal with one person. I don't want to have to deal with one [person] on one thing and one [person] on another, and have to co-ordinate it. I would rather deal with the one that's got obviously most of the money because they tend to understand your program more, because they had to pursue it more, discuss it more.

In addition to concerns about overlap and inefficiency, the rapid growth in the sport bureaucracy that followed the implementation of the Alberta Sport Council raised concerns about the role of volunteers in sport development and the nature of the relationship between state agencies and sport delivery organizations. The criticisms that were raised with regard to these two areas are very much like those discussed by Macintosh and Whitson in their discussion of sport development at the national level. Macintosh and Whitson illustrate that the increased professionalism of high-performance sport has led to new debates about the relationship that should exist between volunteers and professionals involved with sport development. These debates have focused on topics related to defining the types of volunteers that should be recruited to administer sport and redefining the roles that volunteers and professionals should play in sport development.

The data collected for this study indicate that debates over the extent to which sport organizations should be directed by professionals also exist at the provincial level. The people interviewed for this study were asked to comment on the Sport Council's impact on the role of volunteers. There were some individuals, as in the Macintosh and Whitson study, who did not see the professionalization of sport development as problematic and actually encouraged it. As the following quotation illustrates, they believed that the bureaucratization of the Sport Council was necessary and that the problems of overlap associated with it would be overcome as time progressed:

I know Trevor and some of his students have looked at the national situation and make a case for the bureaucratization of sport. And if

coming [of age] of sport means that you have more employees and, therefore, when you have larger organizations they take on different characteristics, I guess that's true. That is a statement of fact. If bureaucratization means some of the inferences regarding attitudes and that, that's not necessary. I think what has happened is, yes, sport has grown up. There are professional staff where there were no professional staff before. Any not-for-profit organization that moves from a period where the volunteer does everything to where the volunteer supports professional staff or vice versa, then you have to get into an exercise of role clarification, understanding who does what. I don't think it has to be negative, or is negative if it is managed appropriately.

This was the opinion of a senior civil servant who went on to suggest that in organizations, sport or otherwise, the members of the volunteer board are the people who create and implement policy and who then influence program decisions. It was up to the professional staff to carry out the day-to-day operations of management and programming within the scope of the policies. This person believed that volunteers would continue to play an important role in programming because "you will never have enough professional staff in the programming." As far this individual was concerned more professionals meant progress because:

You start doing more programs, bigger programs, then you are going to have professional staff and it can be done more or less effectively. That's what we have seen. And some people have come to the judgment that it's all bad for whatever reasons. And I would say, well, you better look at how you managed it and whether or not you did all those kinds of things [to manage relationships] and if you didn't, sure, you're gonna have unfortunate circumstances.

In direct contrast some individuals were concerned that volunteers were unable to give the same amount of direction to sport development as they were prior to the implementation of the Sport Council. In this regard some individuals were particularly concerned about the relationship between the volunteers on the Alberta Sport Council's board of directors and the professionals who were hired to administer the Alberta Sport Council's day-to-day operation. A former employee of the Sport Council provided several examples of how professional

staff implemented initiatives without first consulting the volunteer board of directors:

The board of directors was never providing the kind of direction that it should have provided. But you have to look beyond that and look at the ethical responsibilities of the professionals that work for the organization. And as a chief executive officer, or whatever your title is, you have a responsibility for distinguishing what's a policy or directional decision, which is your board of directors, and what's an implementation decision. There was never in the Alberta Sport Council a decision made in that vein that applied across the board in all situations.

This person also indicated that in many instances managers used their "expertise" to manipulate members of the standing committees to support their initiatives which in many instances had a bias towards to high-performance sport:

All of the bosses, you see, everybody in the Sport Council had or has a title and they were all allowed and given free hands to pursue their own individual agendas. In games, you saw the creation of the concept of masters games, seniors games. You saw the creation of zone games. You saw the creation of zone camps. You saw the Games themselves change from a participation base, a recreation base, to Game Plan Sports, the developing athlete. So the Alberta Games focus on 13 to 17-year-olds, generally speaking, in Game Plan sports²¹. This was the new Games concept. A concept that changed from a recreation base to Game Plan Sports and the developing athlete.

The former employee noted that this led to a significant change in the atmosphere surrounding the Alberta Games. The festival atmosphere that had been associated with the Games was lost as participation was no longer open to adults. "The new Games concept changed the Alberta Games from a recreation base all age groups etc. to 13-17 year olds, the developing athletes and to Game Plan Sports. These became the focus." When this person asked if this was Max Gibb's area,

²¹The term "Game Plan Sports" refers to sports that are part of the Olympic Games. Its origin can be traced back to the early 1970s when the federal government introduced Game Plan, a program to provide financial assistance to athletes and sport organizations that were preparing for the 1976 Olympic Games. Under the Game Plan program only sports that were part of the Olympic Games were eligible for funding.

the reply was, "It sure as hell wasn't the board of directors, I will tell you that."

This person also stated that:

The new Games concept, zone games, zone camps, those three were staff initiatives and while they played games with the standing committees, they were never formally addressed other than through budget by the board of directors of the Alberta Sport Council or by the minister of Alberta Recreation and Parks. The people that were responsible for making those kinds of decisions.

The characteristics of the relationship between volunteers and professionals that exists within the Sport Council itself have much in common with those of the relationships between volunteers and professionals involved with sport at the national level. This has occurred despite the hope that the Alberta Sport Council would provide volunteers with an increased role in sport development. The interview data indicated that since the implementation of the Alberta Sport Council there has been a trend towards redefining the role of volunteers in the areas of decision-making and policy formation in provincial sport organizations.

The technical director of one provincial sport organization noted:

I think that both Parks and Rec and Sport Council deal mostly with the professional staff now. When I first started we used to go on these public meetings wherever they are, from year to year when they go through the profile of applicants of Sport Council. These used to go on at night and it used to be almost all presidents. The staff use to sit there, because the letters all went to the presidents, and ask all the questions. But the presidents were there and the presidents were the ones who in essence were talked to. Now the staff meetings are held in the afternoons because basically it's all staff that go to it. Presidents don't go. They have no interest in it. And the staff are the ones who do most of co-ordination of it. And I just think that's just the change from more professional staff being in place as well. The only presidents I noticed that still tend to go to them are ones with new staff or young associations.

The increase in the number of professionals involved in sport development is in part due to the fact that the Alberta Sport Council provided the money that was necessary to hire more sports professionals. This provision of funding does not, however explain why there is a similarity in the relationship between volunteers and professionals at the provincial and national levels. The work of

Macintosh and Whitson (1990) suggests that the professionalism of sport is a consequence of an ideological reconstruction of physical education in which the production of sporting performance is the purpose of sport organizations. This purpose is seen to be more effectively accomplished by knowledgeable professionals than by volunteers. This, Macintosh and Whitson note, created a new set of professional roles and careers for graduates (and post-graduates) of university physical education programs.

Macintosh and Whitson (1990) note that the professionalization of sport has had several implications at the national level. These implications concern the role of democracy in the area of sport development and the question of whether or not public participation processes and public institutions exist in order to solicit and respond to citizen input and opinions or whether they exist simply to facilitate the implementation of solutions and policies already decided upon by the "experts" employed to administer them. The quotation on page 117 suggests that professionals within the Alberta Sport Council have used their expertise to implement and define program initiatives without, at the very least, consulting the board of directors about whether these (e.g. the reorientation of the Alberta Games) were in the direction which provincial sport organizations wanted to move. Furthermore, as noted in Chapter Five, the entire process that led to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council has been criticized as being undemocratic in view of the disparity between the proposal put forward by sport interest groups and the proposal that was implemented by the Alberta government.

An important characteristic of this professionalism and the associated ideological reconstruction of physical education is the promotion of expert knowledge, the pursuit of performance and excellence. This ideology, according to Macintosh and Whitson (1990) partially explains why the dominant emphasis of national sport programs is high-performance. High-performance sport initiatives correspond well with the state's ideological goals of competitive capitalism. Excellence is also very marketable and appealing to corporations who can often be convinced to provide money to sports in exchange for having their name associ-

ated with that sport. The extent to which this ideology has been extended to provincial level is discussed in the following section which examines the structure of the Alberta Sport Council's sport development programs.

Sport Council Policy and Programs: New Definitions and Foci for Sport Development

With the creation of the Alberta Sport Council there was a major increase in the amount of money available for sport development and as a result it absorbed many of the sport funding roles previously occupied by other government agencies such as Alberta Recreation and Parks and the Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation. The approach to sport development funding taken by the Alberta Sport Council was quite different from that taken by these other agencies. A funding scheme with many new program areas which had not been specifically addressed before was introduced. Very strict guidelines placed new limitations on how sport organizations could spend the grant monies they received from the Crown corporation.

Initially the Alberta Sport Council made funding available to provincial sport organizations through twenty-one programs. Of these twenty-one programs all but four had a high-performance emphasis that, in many cases, extended to international competition and sports included in the Olympic Games. In direct contrast to the programs of funding agencies that preceded the Alberta Sport Council, these new programs did not provide any means for sport organizations to access funds that could be used at an organization's discretion for initiatives, such as adult-oriented programs, that did not fit within the new funding categories. The members of the Alberta sports community were critical of the programs and their limited focus. The objections that were voiced by the sports community were twofold. People objected either to the strict emphasis on high-performance sport and/or the narrow restrictions that were placed on how money could be spent in various program areas.

The Alberta Sport Council's approach to funding reflected a very narrow definition of sport that reduced the number of organizations that could access grants. Mike Apps, former President of the Alberta Soaring Association and member of Sport Alberta's board of directors summed up the new approach this way:

The Sport Council is very rigid in the programs, extremely rigid if you have a very clear idea of your target group and that's fine. If your target group is Olympic sports they have met their goal. But they claim they are looking out for the real interest of all sports, but, in fact, they are telling me in my sport how I have to operate and I have got to fit into their programs for money and support. That means I'm equal to the other sports but not quite as equal.

According to individuals interviewed in this study and those interviewed in a related study by Gordon, strict spending restrictions were established in order to ensure that the Alberta Sport Council would be able to provide the auditor general with a detailed account of how lottery funds were being disbursed. Distrust of provincial sport associations was also mentioned as a factor. The technical director of a provincial association recalled that:

The other thing is, in the first few years, when they came on, I noticed a real lack of trust. I don't know why that was. But there was a real, maybe just general, I don't know, but there was a real lack of trust of people being able to account for their funds.

Notwithstanding the need to ensure accountability, the way in which the programs were defined made it quite clear that for the Alberta Sport Council sport development meant high-performance development. The strict guidelines that sport organizations have to meet have meant that in order to receive funding provincial sport organizations have had to give priority to programs that promote the development of high-performance or do without financial assistance. This trend is underscored by changes in how provincial sport organizations approach program planning. These changes were observed by this researcher in his role as planning consultant to provincial sport organizations immediately prior to and immediately following the introduction of the Alberta Sport Council.

Prior to the existence of the Sport Council, sport governing bodies within Alberta were able to receive financial assistance from the provincial government without having to "fit" their programs and goals into any preset rigid parameters. Planning meetings were conducted with an emphasis on determining an organization's objectives as based on the desires of its membership. Having developed these objectives the sport governing bodies planned their programs and then submitted their plans to the government agency for evaluation and approval. Since the creation of the Alberta Sport Council there has been a reversal in the process these organizations use to plan. Sport organizations began to plan according to the programs outlined by the Sport Council rather than according to the needs articulated by their membership. For many organizations the planning process is no longer driven by questions that focus on, "what do we want to do?" and "How might we get the money to do it?" Sport organizations have, instead, begun to base their planning on the answers to the question, "What programs do we have to run in order to get some funding?"

The sports community has been very vocal in its criticism of the Alberta Sport Council's approach to funding sport organizations, arguing against the narrow scope and spending restrictions of the council's programs. It has also been critical of the council's apparent reluctance to discuss and negotiate changes to its approach to sport funding. Comments made by Alberta Sport Council officials interviewed for this study indicate that the council has made some effort to respond to these criticisms. For example, Alberta Sport Council employee Gary Tomick commented:

I think that when the Sport Council started there wasn't a lot of knowledge about provincial sport associations from where I am speaking from. There wasn't necessarily a lot of knowledge of staff, of the provincial sport association. How they worked, what they did on a per association basis, how they were organized, how healthy they were, what kind of programs they ran, how much money they had and that type of thing. So in providing lottery dollars to amateur sports through the provincial sport associations, the Sport Council was very cautious as to how the dollars were being provided, on what basis they were provided, what programs were being provided, how they were being accounted for, and how the dollars were

being accounted for, that type of thing. As a result of this discussion with the sport groups, that kind of control over the programs that should be operated, or that we felt should be operated has really been lessened. And that doesn't mean that there is no controls at all and that council is just throwing money away. It doesn't imply that at all. But at the same time, trust has been built up between council and the associations and as a result of that the associations, I believe, will have a lot more flexibility in utilizing lottery dollars. They can utilize them for programs based on their needs as opposed to saying this is the program that we have to spend the dollars in and these are the dollars that they fund and that type of thing. . . . I would have to say definitely in the first three or four years that council was involved in planning with the associations. The associations were not planning for themselves, they were planning to get dollars from council. And hopefully as a result of this dialogue that is changing. So I think, definitely the dialogue has improved from a flexibility point of view; better utilization of time, volunteer resources, hopefully better utilization of dollars.

As this study was being conducted the Alberta Council was in the process of introducing a new block funding approach. Through block funding the council hopes that provincial sport associations will find they have more flexibility in the way in which they are able to spend the funds provided by the council. Alberta Sport Council funding is now divided into two general areas of athlete and leadership development. It is also hoped the new approach will reduce some of the administrative paperwork that has come to be associated with applying for funding. While block funding is likely to give sport associations more flexibility when it comes to spending their grant money, this flexibility is still limited to the framework of allocating money directly towards the development of high-performance athletes.

The Alberta Sport Council's continuing emphasis on promoting high-performance sport has received criticism from inside and outside the council. Critics argue that the council's failure to employ a broader approach to sport development reflects a paternalistic attitude towards those involved with sport delivery in Alberta. In this regard a consultant with the Alberta Sport Council noted that:

The council made a bold decision last year and went to block funding to provincial sport associations. So it gave the provincial sport associations significant flexibility in how to address and utilize the funding. But the paternal relationship continues to exist and proliferate and I use that phrase because it is a we know best attitude. We know how to develop sport better than you do and that is a perception in the sport community and you can document that from shooting sports to synchronized swimming to athletics to water polo. When you deal with the technical people in those sports whether they are volunteer or professional staff they will tell you that their perception when they work with the Sport Council is that paternal attitude, we know better.

People outside the Alberta Sport Council are concerned that this paternalism has grown to the point where provincial government institutions have completely taken over control of sport development. It was noted that sport groups no longer have an adequate means through which they can legitimize their own objectives in the area of sport development, let alone influence the Alberta government's sport policy agenda. For many years Sport Alberta and the Intersport conferences it organized provided an arena through which these things could be accomplished. Sport Alberta no longer exists and the Department of Recreation and Parks and the Alberta Sport Council have taken over the administration of Intersport and in so doing they have changed the event's focus. Dr. Gerry Glassford provided the following assessment:

It became evident that there was not enough substance for Sport Alberta by itself, there just wasn't enough in role responsibility. And then I think its days were numbered. But it left sport without a true opportunity for a non-politicized voice structure because, you [the interviewer] were right to point out that there is a very close linkage between the government and Alberta Sport Council. Now you have a conflict of interest because you have another group of people who don't necessarily want to deal always with the policies of government. They may have other visions but they don't have an easy way to discuss those visions and to try to create the pressure we created in the late '70s and early '80s to see a change in the policy and the acts. They are not getting heard. I'm not sure it is not that they are not getting recognized but I think that there is a good level of sensitivity, well there was, by Alberta Recreation and Parks and by the Alberta Sport Council. But, it is not easy for the Alberta sports community to get together and talk about the things that we used to talk about. The Intersports are still very good and they are still powerful. We tend to be

structuring them more and more to the needs of the Alberta Sport Council and the needs, perhaps, of government than to the needs of the sport delivery system itself. In other words he who drives the agenda drives the nature of the meeting, or she.

The Alberta Sport Council's approach to facilitating sport development shares a significant number of similarities with the approach that has been taken by the institutions that other governments across Canada have employed to oversee sport development. The Alberta Sport Council's unique Crown corporation status has not made it immune from what Macintosh and Whitson (1990) have described as a tendency for provinces "to reproduce the same emphasis on high-performance sport" that they have described in National Sport Organizations "with the same neglect of community and recreational sport" (p. 125). The Alberta Sport Council has also promoted the professionalization of sport which has contributed to the fact that volunteers and other "non-professionals" involved in sport are losing their ability to speak to governments on their own behalf.

Recommodifying Sport in Alberta

The Alberta Sport Council's approach to sport development also mirrors the federal government's attempts to recommodify sport. As was noted in Chapter Two, the history of federal government involvement in sport development has been characterized by periods in which the government has decommodified and later recommodified sport. Harvey has linked periods of sport decommodification and recommodification to the overall history of welfare state development in Canada. Sport became decommodified during a period in which the Canadian government felt it had an obligation to provide sport-related services and opportunities in a non-market form so that these services and opportunities would be available to all members of Canadian society and especially members of disadvantaged groups. This trend was later reversed in the face of

fiscal crisis as the Canadian government sought ways to recommodify sport (return sport to the marketplace) as part of its efforts to address its fiscal crisis.

The Alberta Sport Council's Crown corporation status has enabled it to pursue the recommodification of sport more aggressively than other government institutions that have a mandate to oversee sport development. This section outlines some of the characteristics of the Alberta Sport Council's strategy for recommodifying sport and a key secondary contradiction that has emerged as a result of its efforts.

The first goal of the Alberta Sport Council that is outlined in the Alberta Department of Recreation and Parks *Sport Development Strategy: Executive Summary* is funding and marketing. The strategy states that goal #1 of the council is "To solicit financial contributions, services, and other resources from individual organizations, businesses and corporations to assist in the operation of the programs of the council" (Alberta Recreation and Parks, 1984b, p.5). This goal is part of the provincial government's priority of creating a stable and diverse financial base for sport by providing operational funds and generating revenues from the private sector and lotteries. Everyone who was interviewed for this study agreed the most important advantage of the Alberta Sport Council was that, as a Crown corporation it was able to provide a stable financial base for sport. They also agreed that most of this stable financial base was due to the council's access to lottery funds.

The data collected for this study could not be used to provide a clear assessment of the extent of the Alberta Sport Council's success in soliciting funds from corporate and private donors. Several respondents noted that the council had experienced limited success in this area and that there was room for improvement. The financial statements included in the council's annual reports of the fiscal years 1984-85, 1986-87, 1987-88 and 1988-89, show that income from donations has averaged about four per cent of its total budget. It should also be noted that these annual reports indicate that up to and including the fiscal year 1988-89 the amount of money received from donations has increased annually.

The 1988-89 annual report indicates that over 400,000 dollars were received through various donations. Although the data did not make it possible to comment on the success of the Alberta Sport Council's efforts to secure private donations for sport development, it did reveal two issues that have emerged as a result of the council's efforts to attract private-sector donations and other efforts to commodify sport.

First, the data indicate that in order to attract sponsorship the council has had to develop creative ways of selling many of its programs to the private sector. This has meant that in many instances sporting events have had to be reshaped and packaged into a form that will attract sponsorship. This has, in many instances, threatened the integrity of many of the programs offered by provincial sport associations that are co-sponsored by the Alberta Sport Council. The largest and most visible program of this type is the Alberta Games. Members of the provincial associations who were interviewed for this study indicated that from a program point of view their associations were not satisfied with the way in which the Alberta Games was administered. Here are two examples of how the technical director of Athletics Alberta described this dissatisfaction:

And Alberta Summer Games is a prime example where the associations were really unhappy with a lot of things that were coming out of the [Alberta] Games and [Alberta Games] camp proposals. None of the associations were happy. Ninety per cent of them have probably rejected it. It was even in a report and yet it was still approved because there were political sensitivities and that sort of thing. You're a board who should be listening to your constituents, such as your associations. You should have said okay there is a problem. Alberta Summer Games and the Alberta Summer Games camps and zone games are a real thorn in a lot of association's sides. Because they feel they have not been listened to. They have been almost forced to do them without wanting to do them. That is a real concern and the associations still have that kicking around back there in their minds.

Second, individuals pointed out that the Alberta Sport Council played a key role in undermining the efforts of provincial associations to secure donations from private business. The Alberta government has consistently stressed that

provincial associations must do a better job of soliciting private funding for programs that fall outside of government's and/or the council's funding parameters. However, in their efforts to gain corporate support provincial organizations are having to compete with the Alberta Sport Council. In this regard a staff member of the Alberta Volleyball Association commented:

The council is approaching the same people that we approach to raise funds and we reasonably often, let's say one in every five or six approaches get the answer back that the company has already given to Alberta sport through the Sport Council and hence isn't going to support any individual, event or association in addition to that. So they have taken away from our ability to raise funds directly for our association activities. At the same time I realize the mandate of the council is to raise funds for sport. I am not aware of any amount of money that the council has raised through fund-raising, corporate fund-raising sponsorship that has gone to sport through sport association. Now I know that it has gone to support the operation of the council and the council programs such as the Alberta Summer Games and that is what they say is money being raised for sport. You know, I can see that to a certain extent, but they're not distributing the money they've raised to the provincial sport associations which to me is the fundamental basis for sport system in Alberta, not the Sport Council. What they are doing is raising funds from the corporate sector so they can increase their profile and visibility in the direct provision of (high-performance?) sport. And from one point of view there is nothing wrong with that, but why should they be involved in the provision of sporting opportunities when the provincial associations are the ones that they [government] are supposed to support the activities of [*sic*]. So those are two problems I see with the fund-raising that comes to us. One, we don't see a penny of it and we have no idea how much they raise or where they spend it. Two, they're hindering our activity but that's why they have all those lawyers and accountants and oilmen on the board.

The Alberta Sport Council's aggressive involvement in activities that promote the recommodification of sport is perhaps the most unique aspect of the role it has played in sport development in Canada. This clearly sets it apart from the approach that other state agencies have employed in their efforts to promote the recommodification of sport. It is primarily because the Alberta Sport Council is a Crown corporation that it's able to aggressively seek out and promote corporate involvement in sport development. Gary Tomick noted:

The Alberta Sport Council has been able to involve the corporate sectors more than the government department has. I think definitely there is more that could be done in that area but at the same time there is more going to be done from a corporate point of view. The corporations have been more receptive to it [the Alberta Sport Council], I think, than to the Alberta Recreation and Parks, an actual government department. They see the Council as being separate from government from a corporation point of view and I think that's fine.

It is somewhat ironic, however, that this approach has hindered the recommodification of sport since in the face of stiff competition from the Alberta Sport Council provincial sport associations are finding it increasingly difficult to obtain corporate donations.

The promotion of the recommodification of sport is linked to the Alberta government's interest in promoting capital accumulation and economic activity within the province. Several individuals noted that emphasizing the economic benefits of sport has been an important part of gaining public and political support for the Alberta Sport Council and its programs. People have drawn attention to the fact that the Alberta Games, like other sport festivals, can promote significant economic spin-offs for the communities that host them. They have even gone so far as to suggest that the Games were used for political patronage purposes when Stettler was granted the opportunity to host the Alberta Games. This opportunity followed on the heels of a crucial Progressive Conservative byelection victory in which the residents of Stettler elected Don Getty to the provincial legislature. To maintain his status as Premier, Getty needed to win the Stettler byelection in order to obtain a seat in the legislature after he failed to win a seat in his home riding.

Summary

There are few if any characteristics to be found in the structure of Alberta Sport Council's approach that would set it apart from that of any other government's in Canada. Debates persist about local versus high-performance sport development, conflicts between volunteers and professionals have become

an issue etc., and there is a pervasive emphasis on marketing and selling amateur sport to the public. Notwithstanding these similarities Alberta's sport development system emerged out of a unique set of historical events and it is these events that explain why the government of Alberta had to employ a unique system in order to achieve the same objectives as other governments in Canada. As a conclusion to this study Chapter Seven reviews the account of the development of the Alberta Sport Council that has been presented, comments on the way in which this investigation has contributed to our understanding of the development of sport in Canada.

Chapter Seven

Politics, Society and Sport Development: Some Concluding Remarks

This study has examined the events that have led to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council and the impact that this institution has had on sport development in Alberta. The events that led to the birth of this institution took place over a period of almost twenty years. During that time, individuals interested in promoting sport in Alberta sought to create an institution that would, with the assistance of the provincial government, foster the development of sport in Alberta. Beginning in 1967 the Alberta government, in which the Social Credit Party held a majority, sponsored a number of discussions that led to the creation of Sport Alberta in 1970. Sport Alberta was the first organization with the mandate of supporting the interests of sports groups throughout the province. During the 1970s the Progressive Conservatives were elected to government. This party implemented a unique approach to government that transformed the nature of politics in Alberta. The Progressive Conservatives also, as this study has shown, transformed the way in which sport interests were represented in Alberta. Interpersonal and intra-organizational conflict combined with the corporatist ideology of the Progressive Conservatives and a rapid downturn in the economic growth of Alberta to foster the creation of the Alberta Sport Council. The Alberta Sport Council is a Crown corporation. The Alberta government claims that this Crown corporation is representative of a truly unique approach to sport development in which government intervention is held at arm's length.

The observations made in this study indicate that despite its so-called unique characteristics, the Alberta Sport Council's approach to sport development mirrors that of other governments which have directly intervened in sport development. The Alberta Sport Council's Crown corporation status has not left it immune to the criticisms that have been hurled at other state sport development institutions such as Sport Canada. In Alberta critics have drawn attention to the council's overwhelming emphasis on elite (read Olympic) sports to the detriment

of grassroots (read local and community) sport development. They have also raised concerns about the increased bureaucratization of sport delivery and the changing and, in some cases, shrinking role of the volunteer. Most significantly, critics have also challenged the Alberta government's claim that the nature of the Alberta Sport Council ensures that it is free from government influence. Vicki Barnett, writing in the *Calgary Herald*, argued that the Alberta Sport Council represented a step taken by the government in order to control amateur sports.

Is it surprising this organization, that has been deemed to be so different, has implemented an approach to sport development that has much in common with the state institutions to which it is supposed be an alternative? To answer this question it is necessary to reconsider the observations made in this investigation in the context of the theoretical ideas upon which this study was based. The answer to this question will provide a basis from which it will be possible to comment on what the results of this study imply about the future of state involvement in sport development.

The State, Social Structure, Social Systems and Sport Development

The view of the state as welfare state that has been put forward by Offe (1984, 1985), Giddens (1981) and others is one in which the state is "seen as a set of collectives concerned with the institutionalization of political power" (Giddens, 1981, p. 220). The development of the welfare-state has come about as result of the efforts that various groups have made to secure citizenship/welfare rights which they deem to be essential to everyone's enjoyment of a minimum standard of social life. It is through the political power is that is embodied in the state that various social groups and classes have sought and obtained the sanctions necessary in order to achieve their goals within a society. However, the acquisition of welfare rights has been tempered by the structural contradictions inherent in the structure of capitalism and as a result these rights have only been gained through struggle. In this regard Giddens (1982) points out:

The welfare state is neither the result of liberal proclivities of government . . . nor the instrument of bourgeois class domination It is a contradictory formation, entangled in the asymmetrical relations between class division and social or welfare rights. There is, of course, strictly speaking, no 'welfare state' as such: welfare provisions and their relation to state institutions and class relationships, vary quite sharply between different societies. The contradictory character of state welfare institutions, however, helps us grasp these differences as well as whatever similarities might be observed (p. 176).

The observations made in this study illustrate that struggle was an important aspect of the history of sport development in Alberta and that the outcome of that struggle was in part influenced by the fiscal crisis that confronted the Alberta government within the contradictory structure of its capitalist economy. Fiscal crisis has been experienced across Canada and throughout the world. Within the context of Canada, Harvey (1988) and Macintosh and Whitson (1990), have illustrated that, in response to attacks on the welfare state, the federal government has reshaped the character of its intervention towards a contradictory form. This form is one in which the federal government seeks to show that it is concerned that opportunities to participate in sport are available to all Canadians while, at the same time, promoting a recommodification of sport that in effect makes sport less available if not inaccessible to many Canadians. The results of this study indicate that a similar reshaping has taken place in Alberta for reasons that can be traced to the contradictions of capitalism. It is therefore not surprising to discover a strong similarity in the sport development policies of Canada's federal and provincial governments' sport development agencies.

The results of this study also indicate that these similarities are not entirely a consequence of the pressures exerted by the structure of capitalism. Chapter Six noted that Alberta has experienced a growth in the professionalization and bureaucratization of sport that has occurred throughout Canada's sport system. This trend, it was noted, is more a result of the ideological reconstruction of

physical education that has been taking place in universities across Canada than the structural pressures of the capitalist economic system²².

While the nature of the Alberta government's involvement in sport shares much in common with that of other Canadian governments, the institutional form of its involvement is unique. The Alberta Sport Council is the only Crown corporation with a mandate to promote sport development and the only government institution related to sport that openly boasts of its ties to the business elite. The results of this study indicate that numerous factors such as the role played by key actors, the timing of events such as Alberta's fiscal crisis and the ideologies of its governing political parties are all, in part, responsible for this uniqueness. This observation reinforces Giddens' remark, above, that welfare provisions can vary quite sharply between different societies.

In conclusion, theories of welfare state development provided a useful means of answering the question of why the Alberta government choose to create the Alberta Sport Council as a Crown corporation to oversee sport development. Canada's federal and provincial governments, like many other welfare states, have encountered fiscal crises. Offe's discussion of the development of welfare states indicates there are only a few strategies that governments can employ to deal with fiscal crisis. Laissez-faire privatization of services and corporatism are two of these two strategies. In contrast with the laissez-faire strategy used by the federal and other provincial governments, the Alberta government employed a quasi-corporatist strategy. The use of this strategy significantly influenced the Alberta government's decision to create a Crown corporation. The actions of key individuals in government were also found to play a role in the council's creation.

Insight into the question regarding whether or not the impact of the council has been significantly different from the impact of government institutions involved in sport development elsewhere in Canada was also obtained in this

²² A complete discussion of this trend can be found in Demers (1988).

study. The observations made in this study indicate that the Alberta government's quasi-corporatist approach to sport development has had an impact very similar to that of governments who have implemented a laissez-faire approach to sport development. This similarity was found to be a result of an ideological reconstruction of physical education that has taken place across Canada.

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APPENDIX A
Sample Interview and Document Summary Forms

TYPE OF CONTACT: _____	SITE _____
INTERVIEW WITH _____	CONTACT DATE _____
PRESENTATION BY _____	
VISIT _____	TODAY'S DATE _____

1. What were the main themes or issues that struck you in this contact?

2. Pick out the most salient points in the contact. Number in order on this sheet and note page number on which point appears. Attach theme or aspect in CAPITALS. Invent themes where no existing ones exist. Comments may appear in double parentheses.

3. Possible future contacts.

DOCUMENT FORM

Date Received_____

Date of Document_____

Name or Description of Document:_____

Event or contact, if any, with which the document is associated:
_____Significance or importance of document:

_____Brief summary of contents:

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

Any new questions or issues that need to be investigated due to the content of this document.

APPENDIX B

An Adventure in Computer-Assisted Content Analysis

My motivation to use microcomputers to assist in this study stemmed from my personal interest in microcomputers and my familiarity with their capacity to deal with large sets of data, allowing for the use of sophisticated analytical techniques that are impossible with more traditional pencil and paper forms of qualitative data analysis. In my previous involvement with qualitative studies I frequently had to deal with a proliferation of paper and spent considerable amount of time cutting and pasting, filing and re-filing, sorting and re-sorting, and searching and re-searching, instead of actually analyzing the data. A microcomputer used properly, I believed, could significantly reduce the amount of time I spent managing data and consequently enable me to deal with more data more effectively and efficiently.

When this study began software designed specifically for the purpose of qualitative data analysis was not readily available²³. Even so, the advantages of using microcomputers were being promoted in the literature. Pfaffenberger (1988) cites the following three major advantages that microcomputers have over their mainframe counterparts: (a) "[they] can be taken directly to the field, where they can be used for the *direct entry* of field notes, interview transcriptions, and the like," (b) "a surprisingly wide variety of useful (and inexpensive) application packages are available" and (c) "owing to their low costs, social scientists can afford to own them outright" (p. 22).

Pfaffenberger (1988) is also careful to indicate some of the shortcomings that accompany the use of microcomputers in qualitative research. He notes that using microcomputers to store field notes biases the researcher's note-taking activities against fruitful non-textual activities such as drawing diagrams and sketching. Pfaffenberger also cautions that researchers who employ microcom-

²³ At present I am only aware of one program, "Ethnograph," designed specifically for this purpose.

puters can often become caught up in the activities associated with becoming adept in the use of microcomputers that have little relevance to the task at hand: analyzing the data.

Nash (1990) has also explored this aspect of microcomputer-assisted research. He indicates that the use of microcomputers is characterized by the emergence of "frittering": playful activities which emerge in relation to the use of microcomputers, but which are not directly productive and substitute for "real work." Nash identifies two types of fritters, normal fritters and pure fritters. Normal fritters are digressions from the primary activities necessitated by the process of using the computer to undertake the activity which, in this case, is data analysis. Examples of normal fritters would include activities like learning new software and performing disk back-ups and other maintenance. Pure fritters are digressions which displace and substitute for real work, such as playing computer games or setting up down-loadable fonts and font paths, in the event that one might someday wish to use an obscure, exotic font.

I compared my own experience with microcomputers²⁴ with Pfaffenberger's (1988) observations and concluded that the potential benefits of using a microcomputer significantly outweighed any potential disadvantages. I made a commitment to utilize my microcomputer wherever and whenever it was possible. The first step toward this end involved assessing the compatibility of the types of software discussed by Pfaffenberger and the anticipated requirements of my study. Pfaffenberger's evaluation of each type of software was used as a standard to assess the different software packages that were considered for this study. His evaluation pointed out several advantages and disadvantages associated with the three practical types of software options that qualitative researchers can use to create, store and retrieve field notes.

²⁴ Gephart and Pitter (1991a, 1991b) provide an account of the experiences encountered when computers were used to assist in an ethnographic analysis of industrial accidents.

The types of software discussed by Pfaffenberger (1988) are: (a) word-processing software, (b) automatic indexing and retrieval programs and (c) text-oriented database management programs. While word processors, the first type, are ideal for storing, organizing and presenting textual data, their use for data analysis and retrieval is limited. The second type, automatic indexing and retrieval programs, has many enhanced search capabilities not present in word processors; however, Pfaffenberger notes this greater capacity for finding data comes at a price. The nature of this software makes it very difficult to retrieve meaningful data in a straightforward manner without generating a lot of superfluous data or, alternatively, missing relevant data. Many of these programs also have a tendency to retrieve data out of context, thereby rendering it analytically impotent.

Text-oriented databases are not plagued by the problems associated with word processors and indexing software. Text-oriented databases allow the user to enter notes into any number of user-defined fields designed specifically to handle text. They also allow the user to edit files for extensive revision, rewriting and coding of notes. Data can be stored in fields in a manner that is both meaningful to the researcher and consistent with the way in which it was originally written. Pfaffenberger (1988) points out four drawbacks to text-oriented databases. One drawback is that data has to be contained in one single file which will have a tendency to grow to become very large, consuming several megabytes of hard-disk computer space. A second drawback is associated with the reliability of hard drives. Pfaffenberger notes that hard drives have been known to fail and thus make data irretrievable unless it has been backed up. The process of backing up a hard drive brings an added cost, in terms of time and money, to the research process. A third drawback concerns the fact that many text-oriented databases perform their searches very slowly. A fourth drawback is that many database programs inflict a severe punishment on users who wish to make changes to the headings or the arrangement of fields. Some text-oriented databases require the

user to re-enter data in order to change the field names or other field characteristics.

Of the three types of software evaluated by Pfaffenberger (1988) I was particularly attracted to text-oriented databases. Since my analysis would employ the technique of content analysis, I needed software that was designed to deal with text data and flexible enough to allow data entry without bending the data to fit the software. I also wanted to be able to embed analytical codes in or very near to the raw data. Text-oriented databases as they were described by Pfaffenberger appeared to offer maximum flexibility and capacity for the organization and management of qualitative data that I had in mind.

I spent several months reading product reviews and consulting with other computer users before choosing two text-oriented databases, "Bibliograph" and "askSam". Bibliograph was selected because Pfaffenberger (1988) went on at length about its usefulness and provided several examples of how it might be used to aid qualitative data analysis. Bibliograph was designed to automate the generation of bibliographies. I felt that if it turned out to be too problematic for data analysis I could still use it to generate the bibliography for this and other papers. While reading up on Bibliograph, I came across a review of a product called askSam.

The reviewer of askSam was impressed by several features that overcame many of the limitations normally associated with text-oriented databases. AskSam was free from the limitations of the text-oriented database software evaluated by Pfaffenberger (1988). AskSam could do many things: search and retrieve text stored in any number of files (individually or in a group), perform very quick and efficient searches, store data in structured fields or without structured fields depending on the user's needs and accept changes to field names or any other field characteristics without severely penalizing the user. The reviewer identified only one significant drawback to askSam. AskSam was difficult to learn. Users who were not familiar with computer programming techniques could expect to encounter some difficulty. Otherwise, askSam fulfilled all the criteria identified

by Pfaffenberger by combining the advantages of word processing, indexing and retrieval and database software packages without any apparent limitations. As a result, it was chosen to be the primary software tool to aid the data analysis.

The major disadvantages identified in the review of askSam became apparent within a few hours of loading into the microcomputer and doing the tutorial exercises contained in the manual. AskSam was difficult to use partly because of poor documentation and partly because it was able to do things that this researcher had been taught were impossible to do with computers. The difficulty associated with using askSam meant that a considerable amount of normal frittering took place as I spent several months exploring the capabilities of askSam. Once I had become familiar with askSam I used it to perform several tasks in the research process.

My experience with other projects using microcomputers indicated that I should start with small tasks and gradually work my way up toward larger and more complex tasks, the largest and most complex being the actual analysis of data. AskSam was first used to help me with the process of gathering information on key actors. As I identified each actor I entered each of their names into an askSam database. A total of 58 key actors were eventually entered into the askSam database. I gave each actor a numeric identifier. This number added a measure of security in terms of confidentiality²⁵. As key actors were identified I also collected some background information about them. This information included their address (in case they needed to be contacted for an interview), a list of relevant organizations with which they had been involved and any biographical data that had been unearthed.

Once this information had been recorded I used askSam to sort it in a variety of ways. For example, when I was scheduling my interviews I was able to generate a list of all actors who were involved with the Alberta Sport Council and

²⁵ It should also be noted that askSam provides a password and data encryption as further measures that can be used to ensure confidentiality.

who lived in Calgary. Using askSam, I could also easily identify actors who had similar backgrounds from the biographical information. In addition, I organized document summary forms using askSam. Handwritten information from these forms was easily entered into askSam. As with the actor information, once this information had been entered it was very easy to search and retrieve information.

With the relatively easy task of using askSam to organize actor and document summary information completed, I turned my attention to the more difficult task of using askSam to assist my data analysis. This task consumed a considerable amount of time and effort. It was difficult for me to determine the most effective and efficient means of using askSam to assist me with the analysis of the interview data, even though I believed askSam would enable me to implement an analytical procedure that would yield a very rich yet manageable data set.

I initially approached the data analysis with the intent of closely following the grounded theory approach outlined by Strauss (1987). His approach is very intense and involves several stages of coding and theory development. Coding proceeds through three stages: open, axial and selected. I began with open coding which Strauss (1987) describes as follows:

The *initial* type of coding done during the research project is termed open coding. This is unrestricted coding of the data. This open coding is done . . . by scrutinizing the fieldnote, interview, or other document very closely: line by line, or even word by word. The aim is to produce concepts that seem to fit the data (p. 28).

In using askSam to facilitate the process of open coding I decided that I would need to discover a way that the raw data and codes associated with it could be viewed together easily and that codes and/or data could also be searched and retrieved easily. My efforts to meet these goals revealed that askSam did have limitations that would make computer-assisted data analysis a bit awkward. I decided it would be best to make notes about my progress, especially with regard to the problems I was encountering and potential solutions for them, because trial and error became the primary means of discovery and progression. I began

making notes on April 10, 1990. The account that follows is based on those notes and my memory.

As I pursued the task of coding the data the first thing I discovered was that it is very easy to convert the interview data that is stored in word-processing files into a form that can be used by askSam and vice versa. This meant I could code the data using my word processing software, "Wordperfect," first and then convert the coded interview to a format that could be read by askSam. Using the word processor to embed codes in the interview data was easier than using askSam because Wordperfect has superior editing capabilities. I was excited by this discovery and quickly pressed on only to encounter several dead-end efforts. I wanted to be able to view chunks of data and the codes associated with them vertically in two columns. I felt this was the most natural way to compare raw data with codes. This was possible with the word processor, but not with askSam. AskSam could be instructed to print data in this fashion; however, it was not possible to edit data in this way. Although disappointing, this was a minor roadblock. Chunks and associated codes could be viewed together horizontally while editing.

A second and more significant set of roadblocks were those encountered as I tried to develop a way to distinguish codes from text contained in the interview data. I decided to structure the data using two fields, one for chunks and the other for codes. Each chunk field contained one sentence from the interview. Each code field could contain as much information as was needed to properly code a chunk. This information would include some commentary as well as words that were specifically designated to be various types of codes. The problem that emerged concerned distinguishing between words as part of a comment and words that distinguished a particular code or type of code. For example, in Figure Two the code field reads as follows: "Sport Council, origins, Intersport, background: the respondent notes that the history of the Sport Council goes back to the early 1970s with the start of Intersport." The words "origins" and "background" were

UPDATE RECORD	Rem'br	Hypertext	Print	G	K	M	Z
<Esc> done	Query	Back-doc	<PgUp>	<Home>	1st		
<space> next	Last	Other Tag	Next-doc	<PgDn>	LAST LINKED		

CHUNK[#105|1 I would be happy to talk about my perception of the evolution. Really, we go back to the very early 1970s with the start of the Intersport Conferences. The first one was held in Red Deer. I don't remember the exact date, but it is early 1970 – 1972 or 1973.]

CODE[#105|1 Sport Council, origins, Intersport background: the respondent notes that the history of the Sport Council goes back to the early 1970s with the start of Intersport.]

Figure Two: Original coding using diacritical marks.

identified as possible code categories; however, I had to develop a means of signalling this fact.

In pencil and paper methods of data analysis words to be interpreted as codes can be identified by drawing a circle around them or by writing them using a coloured pen or pencil. This cannot be done in the microcomputing environment. Pfaffenberger (1988) points out that this problem can be overcome by using special characters and/or diacritical marks like "*" or "^" to surround the words that signify a code or other special passage. This strategy was not very useful in the askSam environment. Almost every special character and diacritical mark had a special use in the askSam environment and could not be searched for and/or retrieved using askSam. The only exception was the vertical bar character, "|". This character was used to mark words that signified codes, as illustrated in Figure Three.

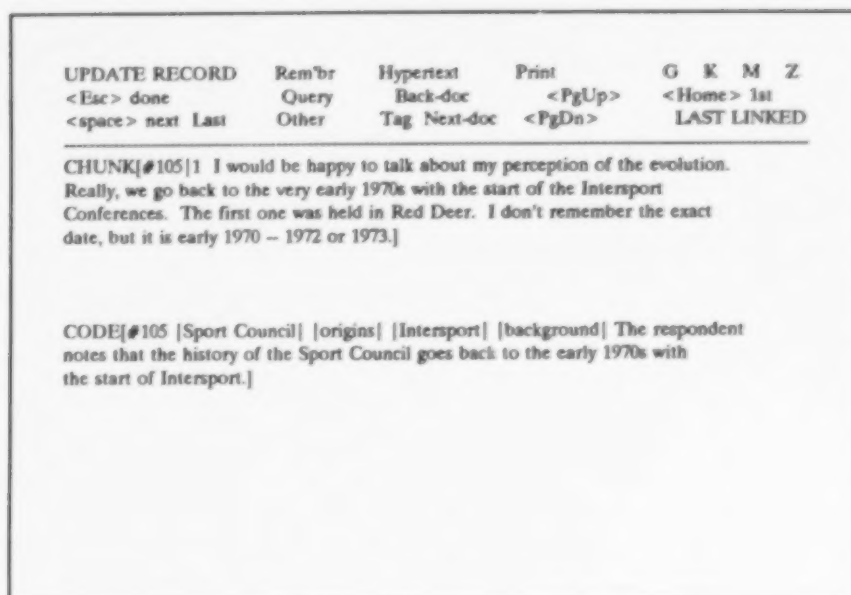


Figure Three: Example of first revised approach to coding.

I coded three interviews in the manner described above. Once I had completed coding those interviews I used askSam to generate a list of all the codes that had been identified in the code field for each coded interview. Coding the data line-by-line was a very time consuming process. The first three interviews contained anywhere from 9,000 to over 10,000 words and it took over a one week to code each one. The first list of codes that was retrieved from a single interview yielded 248 different codes. This was an unwieldy amount of data which did not appear to be very useful so I decided to re-evaluate my approach to the analysis of the data. The following excerpt from my research notes illustrates my assessment of the situation at that time.

March 11 92

RE: Data Analysis and Coding

Since August I have continued to do open coding of interviews. Presently I have produced a list of codes for interviews #105, #139 and #126. These interviews were coded using the database software askSam. From this

software I have generated a list of codes for each interview transcript as well as a cumulative list.

What have I accomplished? Presently I have a list of code phrases which do not have a lot of meaning. Before continuing I believe it is necessary to add more method to this madness. On March 6 I consulted with both Trevor Slack and Bob Gephart as a means of getting some ideas regarding how to proceed with these long lists of what are best called *code phrases*. Gephart has introduced to me an article by Barry Turner that has given me some ideas in this regard.

My coding needs to be made more meaningful. Presently the code phrases I have possess little meaning. They can serve only as flags to indicate where references to specific details can be found. However, there are no references to the context that these details represent. Reading the Turner article suggests that my codes need to be given more meaning in the context of this study and what the respondents are actually saying. I believe that I can still benefit from askSam as a help to this project but I have to organize the system a little differently in order to obtain the results I need.

Recommendations for Future Analysis:

Before proceeding with future analysis I believe the following adjustments should be made in order to "make more sense out of the data."

The next step may require some re-coding and filing of the analysis along lines developed by Turner. Turner uses a system of numbered index cards with code titles, references to field notes and cross-references to other cards. The next step would be to develop a similar system in askSam. This may require a new approach to the treatment of the raw data different from that which is currently being used in askSam. Here is an outline of how I conceive that this can be done.

In completing the step above I should create an askSam file called Codecard.ask and use document mode to create records of each code area. It will likely be necessary to number the chunks so that they can be referred to in the code cards. It may also be possible using hypertext to automate the retrieval of these chunks when necessary.

As indicated by my research notes, I abandoned the line-by-line approach to data analysis and focused on implementing the ideas put forward by Turner (1981). The line-by-line analysis was not a complete failure. As I look back at

my notes during that time I realize doing this helped me to identify key themes and categories of analysis that are discussed in the results of this study. The major fault was the labour intensiveness of this approach and the fact that it yielded too many extraneous themes that, although interesting, were not germane to the context of this study. Turner's approach is less susceptible to these shortcomings and at the same time is oriented towards generating grounded theory.

Turner (1981) adheres closely to the steps of the grounded theory approach developed by Glasser and Strauss (1967) (cf. Strauss, 1987); however, he approaches the analysis of the data a little differently from how I had started. Instead of a line-by-line analysis, Turner:

deal[s] with the material paragraph by paragraph, numbering the paragraphs for reference purposes. Starting with the first paragraph of the transcript or notes, I ask 'What categories, concepts or labels do we need in order to describe or to account for the phenomena discussed in this paragraph?' When I think of a label, I note it down on 5" by 8" file-card, together with the number of the paragraph and the file-card. I then check whether further cards are needed to note further potentially significant phenomena referred to in this paragraph. I generate cards with titles of categories until I am satisfied with my coverage of that paragraph, until I seem to have noted all of those features which are of significance to me and then move on to the next paragraph (p. 232).

Turner's (1981) approach turned out to be especially suited to the characteristics of the askSam software. It was very easy to transfer Turner's pencil and paper approach to the electronic medium of the microcomputer using the askSam software. The screen representations of data presented by askSam are very similar to that of an index card. Each screen presents a limit of twenty lines of text. Additional text can be viewed by paging to the next screen in a manner very similar to how one would page through a stack of index cards.

Following Turner's (1981) suggestions, I analyzed the transcripts paragraph by paragraph combining traditional pencil and paper methods with my newly developing microcomputer-assisted methods. Each transcript was converted to a format readable by askSam. As I read each paragraph I asked the question suggested by Turner (1981), "What concepts, categories or labels do we need in

order to describe or to account for the phenomena discussed in this paragraph?" The paragraph was embedded in a field called *CHUNK*. Each chunk was given an identifier that included the transcript number and the sequential number (see Figure Four).



Figure Four: Example of how transcripts looked in the final approach to coding using askSam.

For example, the first chunk in interview #126 was identified by #126|1, the second chunk was identified as #126|2 and so on. A hard copy of each transcript was also numbered in a similar manner as a backup and secondary reference.

Concepts and categories were first handwritten on individual index cards as they were developed. Each category was given a number according to the sequence in which it was developed. After each category had been handwritten on an index card, an electronic category card was produced using askSam (see Figure Five). AskSam has a feature that makes it possible to switch between two files, making it very easy to go back and forth between an interview transcript and

the emerging database of electronic index cards. The first line of each electronic code card contained a card number and a title indicating a conceptual idea. The remainder of the card contained a list of the relevant passages, including the location of each in the transcript and a brief reminder/summary of each passage's content. Each passage was noted on every card to which it was seen to be relevant. At the conclusion of this phase of the data analysis, 113 category labels were identified.

```

HYPERTEXT <Esc> Print Query Update Next Backtrack <PgUp>
CAPS MENU AUTOMATIC FILE CODECARD <PgDn>
##5
-----
CARD ##5
SPORT POLICY/STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT

#139TEST_#139.8 a long, drawn-out process

#139TEST_#139.31 identified roles for ARP and ASC, but not Sport Alberta

TC#126_#126|11 the period between '81 - '83 when new legislation was being
considered for the development of the Sport Council

TC#126_#126|18 both economic impact and social impact of policy are important to
government

TC#126_#126|19 more needed to be said from an economic initiative perspective

TC#126_#126|20 presenting a case for a policy area involves specific steps or a strategy
focusing on economic and social aspects

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Figure Five: Example of a code card as it appears when using askSam.

From these 113 categories, I identified the topic areas that would form the basis of the discussions included in the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters of this study. For example, the section which discusses Sport Alberta's struggle for legitimacy was written by considering the information that was contained on code card #8, "Decline of Sport Alberta," in conjunction with several other categories, such as "Expertise of the Sport Alberta Board," "Sport Alberta Relationship with Alberta Recreation and Parks," "Intersport Conferences," etc. The accuracy of this

information was verified by considering organizational documents from the time period and information provided by other studies, such as Nicholls's (1982) and Yardley's (1981).

During the analysis process a microcomputer was used to decompress the data summarized on each set of code cards so that the context in which comments were made would be preserved. Several features of askSam make it possible to easily create computer files that consolidate all the data chunks associated with a particular concept or category in their full form. The hypertext feature of askSam makes it possible to go directly from viewing a code card to viewing the source of any paragraph summary contained on that code card. This is accomplished by simply highlighting the location of the paragraph with the cursor and then pressing the "Enter" key. After examining the full description in the transcript it is possible to have a copy of the paragraph appended to a file containing information that is only relevant to a particular concept. This method of consolidation is analogous to cutting and pasting raw data into specific category files; however, the mess associated with an abundance of paper and adhesive is eliminated.

Developing a useful means of electronically storing and retrieving data was a long, frequently tedious and frequently frustrating adventure. However, once a useful system was in place, the system enhanced the data analysis process in a number of ways. My microcomputer-assisted data analysis system made the data very easy to read, re-read, annotate, search and retrieve. This system also ensured that data was less likely to become misplaced and could be stored easily while its accuracy was maintained. As I compiled the results of the study, quotations from the raw data never had to be retyped and this saved some time. Now that my data has been entered I can, if I desire, refer to it again in future research projects.

I had hoped to be able to accomplish more through my use of askSam. My intuition tells me that I should be able to automate some of the procedures listed above by programming the askSam software however; the attempts I have made thus far have been unsuccessful. In the future I hope to gain success. I had also

hoped to electronically scan the documentary data and treat it in a manner similar to that of the interview data. However, scanning equipment was not available and the time needed to accomplish this would have added even more time to an already lengthy research project.

I have spent much time frittering with askSam, but I consider myself to be a computer hobbyist and hence I have actually enjoyed the challenge. Furthermore, I regard my frittering as an investment, since in the future frittering is less likely to occur as long as I continue to employ the same approach without having to make too many modifications. I believe microcomputer-assisted data analysis is valuable. It increases the thoroughness of analysis because it is very easy to go back to the data and scan for terms. The researcher is able to sift through the data over and over again in a way that is more efficient and effective than doing so by hand. Microcomputers also help to reduce the volume of paper produced and handled during qualitative research. In addition to these advantages I would also like to point out that microcomputers cannot accomplish all of the things that can be accomplished using pencil and paper methods or vice versa. For the time being, the best methods of qualitative data analysis will have to combine these two approaches.